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St. John the Evangelist,
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[*St. John the Evangelist, from Mrs. Jamieson's engraving of a picture by Raphael, in the Musée at Marseilles.*]

BY

J. E. SMITH,

*Vestry Clerk of St. Margaret and St. John the Evangelist,
Westminster.*

1892.

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Since that thou know'st full lite who shall behold
Thy rude language, full boistously unfold."

CHAUCER

AN ALPHABETICAL ARRANGEMENT OF SUBJECTS.

"As INDEX to the story."

KING RICHARD III., II. 2.

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(The above List is by no means complete.)



TO THE
PARISHIONERS OF
ST. MARGARET AND ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST
WESTMINSTER
AS REPRESENTED BY A HUNDRED GOOD MEN AND TRUE
ELECTED AND UNITED AS A CORPORATE BODY
FOR THE PURPOSES OF
LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT—
CUSTODIANS OF A PRICELESS HERITAGE—
THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE HUMBLY DEDICATED
BY ONE WHO (WHILE WISHING THAT THE OFFERING WERE
MORE WORTHY OF THEIR ACCEPTANCE) GRATEFULLY
ACKNOWLEDGES THE UNWEARYING FORBEARANCE AND
UNCHANGING KINDNESS
WITH WHICH HIS OFFICIAL AND VOLUNTARY EFFORTS
HAVE BEEN INVARIABLY RECEIVED
DURING THE EIGHT YEARS HE HAS HAD THE HONOUR OF
HOLDING THE RESPONSIBLE POSITION OF
VESTRY CLERK.

December, 1892.

Like April morning clouds, that pass,
With varying shadow o'er the grass,
And imitate on field and furrow,
Life's chequered scene of joy and sorrow ;
Like streamlet of the mountain north,
Now in a torrent racing forth,
Now winding slow its silver train,
And almost slumbering on the plain ;
Like breezes of the Autumn day,
Whose voice inconstant, dies away,
And ever swells again as fast,
When the ear deems its murmur past ;
Thus various my [historic] theme
Flits, winds, or sinks, a morning dream.
Yet pleased, our eye pursues the trace
Of Light and Shade's inconstant race ;
Pleased, views the rivulet afar,
Weaving its maze irregular ;
And pleased, we listen as the breeze
Heaves its wild sigh through Autumn trees ;
Then wild as cloud, or stream, or gale,
Flow on, flow unconfined, my Tale !

SCOTT.

P R E F A C E.

Finding the pen, the paper, and the wax,
These at command, and now invention lacks :
This sentence serves, and that my hand outstrikes ;
That pleaseth well, and this as much mislikes,
I write, indite, I point, erase, I quote,
I interline, I blot, correct, I note."

DRAYTON.

"Whoever thinks a faultless 'book' to see,
Thinks what ne'er was, nor is, nor e'er shall be."

POPE.

INIMITABLE literary ability—"choice word and measured phrase above the reach of ordinary men"—have so freely been bestowed upon the chronicles of Westminster, that the critic's eye may be expected to turn eagerly to a simple effort to add a few further pages to its history. To allay any such avidity, let it be said at once that no pretence is here made to compete with the literary merit, the area surveyed, or the research accomplished, from which Smith's *Antiquities* (1807) or Walcott's *Memorials* (1849) may be said to have derived their value as standard works on Westminster. Nor is any attempt made to tell tales of distress and misery, of broken fortune and ruined hopes, of unrelieved wretchedness and successful knavery which the author of *Sketches by Boz* associated with the two words 'the parish.' No highly coloured romance, no extraordinary adventure, no sanguinary battle, no brilliant biography will here be found. All that is attempted is a mere analectic and fragmentary epitome, gleaned for the most part from the official records and other manuscripts of the small and comparatively unnoticed parish of St. John the Evangelist. But as we turn to these records and

manuscripts, and supplement the extracts therefrom with a few items from publications now becoming rare—

“A thousand fantasies
Begin to throng into the memory,
Of calling shapes, and beckoning shadows dire,
Of airy tongues that syllable men’s names
On sands and shores and desert wildernesses.”

MILTON.

Some of the facts here presented will probably be within the recollection of many an aged inhabitant, who happily survives in the enjoyment of a well-earned but modest retirement from commercial and administrative business. And if, as—

To the sessions of sweet silent thought
He summon up the remembrance of the past—

SHAKESPEARE.

he, and those who follow worthily in his footprints, find sufficient variety to impart interest or to excite an indulgent excusal of many shortcomings and other imperfections, the author will have satisfaction in the thought that his pleasant relaxations by the light of the midnight oil have not been in vain.

The numerous sources of information to which reference has been made being separately scheduled, there only remains the agreeable but bounden duty of acknowledging with sincere gratitude the courteous and valuable assistance cheerfully given by the undermentioned gentlemen:—

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and parish of St. Mary-the-Virgin.

The author also takes the opportunity of expressing his indebtedness to one of his official colleagues, Mr. G. P. W. Terry, for able assistance ungrudgingly given, at the sacrifice of much personal leisure, in the collection of materials, and generally in the production of the essay.

Should the perusal of its pages present pleasure, or even information to the reader's view, he may perhaps call to mind Byron's conciliatory lines:—

“ We must not quarrel for a blot or two ;
But pardon equally to books or men,
The slips of human nature and the pen.”



CHAPTER I.

THE PARISH.

This is the place,
 Let me review the scene,
 And summon from the shadowy Past,
 The forms that once have been.

LONGFELLOW.

Origin.—Instrument setting out boundaries.—Wards.—Plans.—Physical and Geological Features.—Area.—Population.—Ecclesiastical divisions.

AUTHORITIES are divided as to the origin of the division of England into parishes. Some declare the institution to have had an ecclesiastical derivation, others that civil parishes existed long anterior to ecclesiastical distinctions, and were merely sub-divisions of the ancient hundred. By some the date of the institution of civil parishes is fixed at 1179, while others assert that it became general in the 9th and 10th centuries, that legislation on the subject is to be found in the laws of Edgar about 970, and that the parochial division followed, in a great measure, the civil distribution into manors. Apparently adopting this view, Walcott states that “Westminster was nothing more than a rural manor belonging to the Abbey, until its ecclesiastical lords constituted the whole to be one parish, that of St. Margaret; of the boundaries of which the earliest notice we possess is in a charter of King Offa, A.D. 785.” Onwards from this early period for nearly a thousand years (until 1724) the ‘terra incognita’ we are about to perambulate was comprised within the parish of the Virgin Martyr of Antioch. As we saunter fitfully within its limits, we shall not be tempted to turn aside to explore any Roman *tumuli*—nothing but a small coin, brought to light in the course of some excavations in Marsham-street, has been

transmitted to us from that remote era—nor shall we be able to connect ‘the parish’ with the Saxon day otherwise than by an incidental allusion to the ancient marsh of Tothill Fields as “Bulinga Fen” in the charter of King Edgar ; no Norman architecture will meet the eye, nor are there any Plantagenet traditions to interest us ; and there is but little to associate the locality with the Tudor period. The Stuart dynasty, before and after the Commonwealth, however, saw the gradual settlement of inhabitants along the river side, “the banck leading to the myll and the horse ferrie” southwards, and in Orchard-street as it stretched itself westward. The history of the parish is rather that of original development than of decay and restoration, for until the middle of the seventeenth century a few houses, two or three small farms where—

“ Deep fields of grain the reaper mowed,
In meadows rich the heifers lowed ;”

SCOTT.

and a considerable area of low-lying, marshy land extended to that part of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields which (since absorbed in St. George, Hanover Square) lay between Westminster and Chelsea. Swampy ground, hidden here and there by “the green mantle of the stagnant pool,” existed in the part now known as Warwick-street, Churton-street, Charlwood-street, and the western end of Rochester-row, and patches of garden ground distinguished the cultivated from the generally waste character of the soil. On the site of the Gas Company’s premises was Eldrick’s nursery, which supplied the surrounding district with fruit and flowering shrubs, as the Abbey vineyard had supplied the monks in the olden time with many a vintage.

One of the original vestrymen, appointed by the Commissioners, was described as a ‘farmer’; Richard Ferryman, a farmer, of Horseferry Road, was elected 29th December, 1736, and several persons were assessed for ‘farms’ and ‘fields’ in their occupation down to the first quarter of the present century.

Tothill Fields had but a few lonely cottages in their midst until 1810, when the commencement of the new bridge at Vauxhall cast the shadow of impending change. So partially disturbed, however, was this locality in 1820, that the tower of St. Luke's Church, Chelsea, then in course of erection, was clearly distinguishable from the back windows of the houses in Marsham-street.

By an instrument enrolled in the High Court of Chancery on 8th January, 1724, "to describe and ascertain the bounds and limits of a new parish in the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster," the Commissioners appointed by King George I. to give effect to the Act of Queen Anne for the building of fifty new churches, directed that there should be a parish for the new church then about to be erected. They also "set out, ascertained and appointed the limits and bounds, district and division of the said new parish," which are thus described :—

"The limits and bounds shall be and begin at and from the Parliament Stairs at low water mark sixteen feet and a half to the North of the angle of Captain Tufnell's Wharf, and from thence running up to the middle of the gateway at the East end of the paved passage on the south of the Prince's Chamber, being the passage leading from the said Parliament Stairs into the Old Palace Yard, keeping the middle of the said passage all along into Old Palace Yard, about eight feet and a half past the corner of a house called the Old Star and Garter, fronting towards Old Palace Yard ; from thence turning square towards the South, and proceeding directly to the middle of the entrance into Dirty Lane, and from thence still keeping South all along the middle of Dirty Lane to a point in the middle of the entrance into College Street, then proceeding down the very middle of College Street Westward home to a street called the Bowling Alley, then crossing the said street about fifteen feet to the South of the Old Stone Gateway and turning square to the South for about twenty feet, and then square to the West into a passage on the South on the Rainbow Alehouse, in the possession of Mr. Figg, and from thence keeping the middle of the said passage to the West, home to the East side of Smith Street, then crossing the said street in a direct line towards the North end into Stable Yard, keeping the middle of the said yard going Westward to the East end of Orchard Street, between the house of Mr. Wisdom and the house of Mr. Gooden, then adjoining into the Channel or Denter Stone in the middle of Orchard Street, keeping the middle of the said street Westward home to the middle of

the entrance turning into N w Pye Street, leading into Old Pye Street, unto the middle of the channel of Old Pye Street opposite to a street called Perkin's Rents, thence going up the middle of the said street towards the West, home to the East side of Duck Lane, then crossing the said lane into the middle of Pear Street and keeping Westward directly across Straton Ground, between the house on the North in possession of Mr. Bill, and the house on the South in possession of Mr. Lloyd straight to the East door of the Military Ground, then crossing the Military Ground to the West door of the said Ground into the common highway about three feet from thence, turning to the South, keeping all along by the wall of the Military Ground up to the South-west angle of the said ground, thence crossing obliquely to the angle of the rails of the Green Coat Hospital, keeping by the East side of the said rails, thence crossing by the West end of the gardens of Hill's Almshouses directly to a footway commonly called the Willow Walk, near the Feathers Alehouse, in the possession of Mr. Keys, excluding the said house ; and from thence along the footway Westward to the Willow Walk Bridge, which is accounted the old boundary of St. Margaret's parish, and so Southward along the common sewer and King's Scholars' Pond, which as is supposed doth or did divide the two parishes of St. Margaret and St. Martin-in-the-Fields in Middlesex, down to the North side of the river of Thames to the low water mark, and thence along to the said shore or beach to the angle or point near Captain Tufnell's Wharf before mentioned, and there ending where this description first began ; and the limits and bounds so described shall be the limits and bounds of the said new parish, on the respective

* thereof abutting as aforesaid ; and that all the houses being in number eight hundred and fifty or thereabouts, and all the buildings, grounds, and hereditaments, situate, lying, and being within the limits and bounds aforesaid (which are more plainly described by the several red lines in the scheme or ground plot hereto annexed) shall be the district and division of and for the said new church."

Adopting modern nomenclature, the boundaries may more briefly be described as commencing at Parliament-stairs, crossing Abingdon-street, passing along the centre of Great College-street and the south side of Dean's-yard, crossing Great Smith-street into Orchard-street, thence through Pear-street, thence crossing Strutton-ground, following an oblique north-westerly line and crossing Victoria-street to a point marked in the footway fronting Palmer's-passage. Hence the line re-crosses the street and pursues its course along Artillery-row, Cobourg-row, Buckingham-cottages, crossing Vauxhall Bridge-road at the intersection of Rochester-row and Warwick-street, to the crown of the

* Blank in original copy.

King's Scholars' Pond sewer beneath the centre of Tachbrook-street, along which it is drawn through the Gas Light and Coke Company's Works in Bessborough-street to the foreshore of the river opposite Nine Elms, there turning in a north-easterly direction and proceeding beneath the centre arches of Vauxhall and Lambeth Bridges to a point opposite Parliament-stairs.

At the constitution of the parish there were five wards or divisions wholly or partly within its bounds,* viz.:—

Part of Palace Yard Ward, including Parliament Stairs, Lindsey's Lane or Dirty Lane, Abingdon Buildings, and part of College Street.

Part of Deanery Ward, including Smith Street and part of Stable Yard.

Part of Sanctuary Ward, including Bowling Alley, Oliver's Court, and part of College Street.

Millbank Ward, including Piper's Ground, Black Dog Alley, Horseferry Bank, Garden Grounds, Grosvenor Street, and therein Wisdom Alley, Market Street, and therein Goodchild Alley, Horseferry Road, and therein Garden Ground, Marsham's Street, and therein Blood Grounds, Hearn Court, and therein Lumley Street, Tufton Street, Vine Street, Campion Alley, Millbank, Church Street, Smith's Square, North Street, Wood Street, Cowley Street, Barton Street, English's Wharf, French's Wharf, Killham's Wharf, Mackriff's Wharf, Prat's Wharf, Bell Wharf, Crooked Billet Wharf, Tapping's Wharf, Gray's Wharf, Catchcart's Wharf, Norris's Wharf, and Meal Wharf.

Peter Street Division, including Great St. Ann's Lane, Jones's Court, and Pipe-makers' Alley; part of Orchard Street; part of New Pye Street; part of Old Pye Street, Little St. Ann's Lane, and Parker's Rents, part of Duck Lane, part of Pear Street, part of Artillery Ground and Artillery Wall, part of Strutton Ground, Peter Street, Leg Court, Laundry Yard, Providence Court, Whister's Ground, part of Adam-digging Yard, Tothill Fields, and Rochester Row.

For purposes of civil administration the parish was divided, under the provisions of the Metropolis Local Management Act of 1855, into three Wards, which are thus described by Mr. George Baugh Allen, Barrister-at-Law, the Commissioner appointed by Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, to set them out:—

Ward No. 1.—All such parts of the Parish of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster, as lie west of a line commencing at the point of the south-western boundary of the said Parish opposite the middle

* Seymour's Survey, Vol. II., 1735.

of Moreton Street, and drawn thence in a north-easterly direction along the middle of Moreton Street, to and along the middle of Chapter Street to the middle of Regency Street, and northwards along the middle of Regency Street to the middle of the Horseferry Road; and northward along the middle of such road and along the middle of Strutton Ground to the north boundary of the said Parish at the point at which the same crosses the middle of Strutton Ground.

Ward No. 2.—All such parts of the said Parish as are bounded as follows (that is to say) :—

Bounded towards the north by the boundary line dividing the said Parish of St. John the Evangelist from the Parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, from the point at which the same crosses the middle of Strutton Ground to the eastern extremity of the said boundary line in the River Thames.

Bounded towards the west by the boundary line of Ward No. 1, hereinbefore described, from the point at which the parish boundary crosses the middle of Strutton Ground to the point in the middle of Regency Street opposite the middle of Page Street.

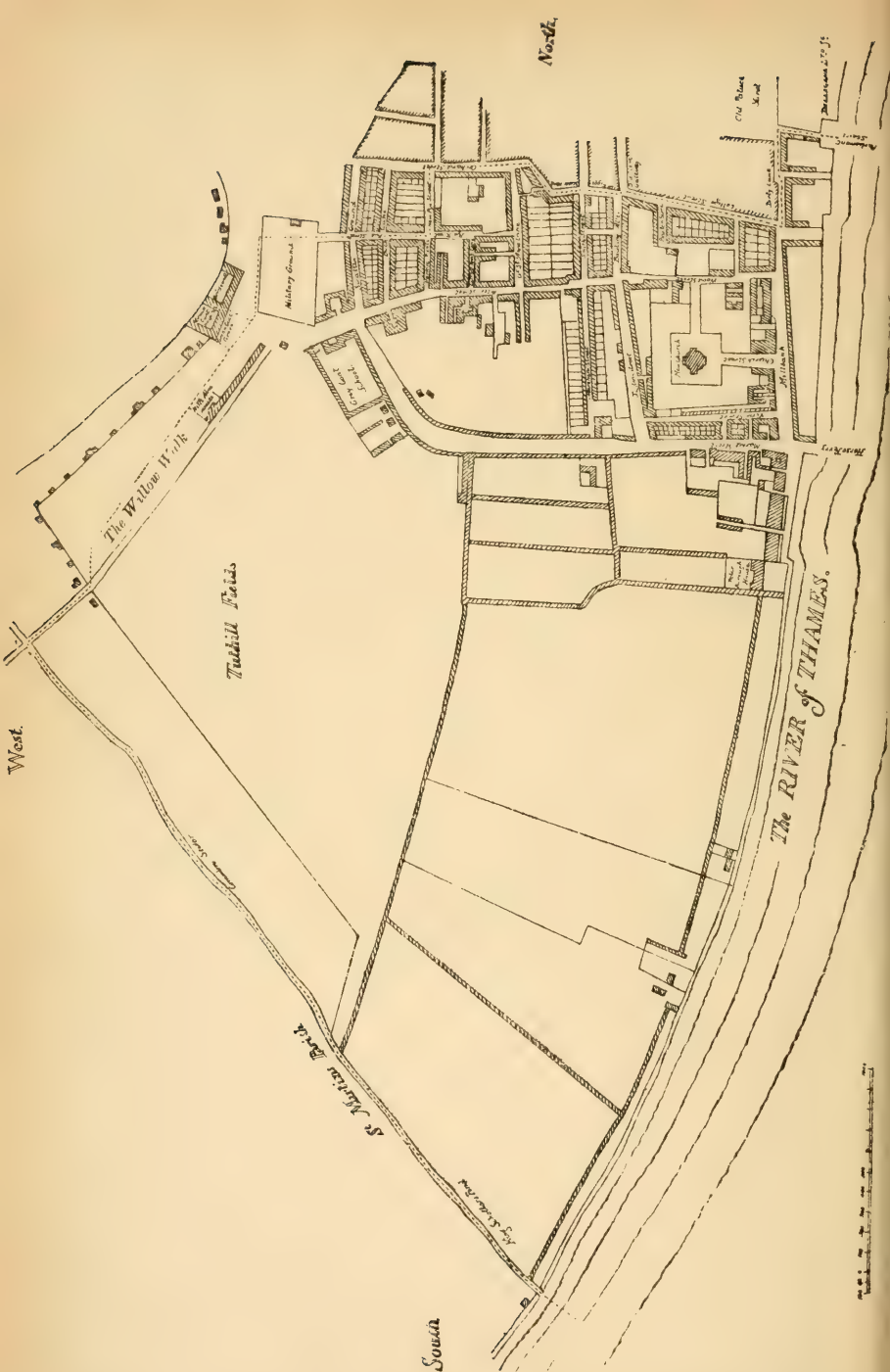
Bounded towards the south by a line drawn from the last-mentioned point to and along the middle of Page Street to its eastern end, from thence east to the eastern boundary of the said parish in the River Thames.

Bounded towards the east by that part of the parish boundary in the River Thames lying between the eastern extremities of the southern and northern boundaries of the said Ward No. 2, hereinbefore described.

Ward No. 3.—All parts of the said Parish of St. John the Evangelist which are not included and described in the Wards Nos. 1 and 2.

A reduced *fac-simile* of the plan to which reference is made in the Instrument of the Commissioners of 1724 has been made expressly for incorporation herein, and is placed opposite a modern map of the parish, corrected as nearly as possible to date, and showing the sub-division into Wards.

In the excavations for the foundations of the Victoria Tower, at the south end of the Houses of Parliament, the workmen came upon thick layers of peaty soil. A similar discovery was made during the preparations for the construction of Millbank Prison, which was erected on such “shifting sand” as to necessitate an exceptionally costly foundation of piles and concrete. These experiences confirm the assertion of an engineer who was extensively engaged in



Reduced copy of the plan of the Parish referred to in the Instrument of 1824.
(See page 10.)



Plan of the Parish in 1892, showing the Wards as set out in 1855.

connection with excavations for the sewerage system of Westminster, nearly half a century ago, that beneath the surface soil in many parts of the parish was to be found evidence that before any artificial obstructions or drainage existed the storm waters carried with them towards the river enormous quantities of sand, which now forms a thick stratum underlying a great part, if not the whole of the parish. Mr. Ridgway, in his *Gem of Thorney Island*, (1860), says that from the hills of Highgate and Hampstead "the ground declined more gently until it subsided into a deep morass, extending over the whole of that fashionable locality known to us as the aristocratic Belgravia. Between this barren waste and the river lay a still more hopeless marsh." These views are borne out by a report presented to the Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers in 1848. From this it appears that "the ground forming the present surface is artificial to a depth of from four to eight feet, partly the accumulation of ages," and partly, it may be added, by the deposit of a portion of the soil excavated in the formation of St. Katharine's Docks, whence it was conveyed in enormous quantities by water to Millbank. "The subsoil is composed of a layer of vegetable earth of a peaty nature, beneath which, to a depth of about 40 feet, to the blue clay formation, it is sand intermixed with gravel. This thick bed of sand," continues the Commissioners' Report, "from its permeability, is constantly charged with a large quantity of water which, being acted upon by the pressure of the tide, rises and falls somewhat with it." A large portion of the parish is only slightly above the level of high tide; much lies below it. Millbank street is said to be four feet four inches above high water mark, Old Pye street five-and-a-half inches above, and the vicinity of Cobourg row just twelve inches below that standard.

In superficial area Ward No. 1 is 58 acres; Ward No. 2, 67 acres; and Ward No. 3, 86 acres; the whole area being rather less than a third of a mile. The exact measurement,

211 acres, corresponds with that of St. Margaret's parish and the Close of St. Peter, exclusive of Knightsbridge.

At the constitution of the parish in 1724 the number of houses was computed to be 850, the estimated population at the time being 4,250; the Census Commissioners' Reports furnish the following figures:—

Census.	Inhabited Houses.	Population.
1801	1,261	8,375
1811	*1,407	10,615
1821	2,089	16,835
1831	2,807	22,648
1841	3,073	26,223
1851	3,503	34,295
1861	3,723	37,483
1871	3,715	38,478
1881	3,610	35,496
1891	3,867	34,092

In 1724 the number of houses and persons to each acre was slightly over 4 and 20 respectively; in 1891 it was 18 and 162. The decrease which took place between 1871 and 1881 was caused by the demolition of many small houses in the overcrowded neighbourhood of Orchard-street and Old Pye-street, under an Order of the Home Secretary, and the erection, on the site, of a much larger number of so-called "model dwellings." A reliable calculation of the average number of persons resident in each house cannot be made, inasmuch as the Census Returns for 1891, by way of example, put the number of inhabited houses at 3,867, while the parish rate books give the number of assessments at 4,717. It will be observed, however, that during the last ten years the houses increased by 257, while the population decreased by 1,404.

In addition to the sub-division into Wards for civil pur-

* Mr. Walcott's statement that the parish contained 1,600 houses in 1735 appears to have been made on the authority of Seymour's survey.

poses, there are five ecclesiastical districts, not including that reserved to the parish church, viz.:—St. Mary the Virgin, Tothill-fields, Holy Trinity, Bessborough-gardens, St. Matthew, Great Peter-street, St. Stephen, Rochester-row, and St. James-the-Less, Upper Garden-street. The reader will be asked to take a passing glance at each of these districts and churches in the course of his ramble round the parish. On the way to our starting point, which will be at the parish church, we may recall Sir Roger de Coverley's observation in one of his water journeys from the Temple Stairs to the Spring Gardens, Vauxhall, he having, as usual, engaged a waterman with a wooden leg.* After a short pause the old knight turned his head to take a survey of the great Metropolis and bade his companion observe how thickly the City was set with churches, while there was scarcely a single steeple on this side of Temple Bar. "A most heartrending sight," said Sir Roger, "there is no religion at this end of the town. The fifty new churches will much mend the prospect; but church work is slow, church work is slow."

* "You must know," said Sir Roger, "I never make use of anybody to row me that has not either lost a leg or an arm. I would rather bate him a few strokes of his oar than not employ an honest man that has been wounded in the Queen's service. If I was a lord or a bishop, and kept a barge, I would not put a fellow in my livery that had not a wooden leg."



CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH.

"What is a Church"? Our honest sexton tells
 'Tis a tall building, with its tower and bells;
 Where priest and clerk, with joint exertion strive
 To keep the ardour of their flock alive;
 That, by his periods eloquent and grave;
 This, by responses and a well-set stave';
 'Tis to this Church I call thee, and that place
 Where slept our fathers when they'd run their race."
 CRABBE.

"Then I remembered 'twas the Sabbath day.
 Immediately a wish arose in my mind
 To go to church and pray with Christian people.

* * *

So entering in, not without fear,
 I passed into the family pew,
 And covering up my eyes for shame,
 And deep perception of unworthiness,
 Upon the little hassock knelt me down
 Where I so oft had kneeled."

LAMB.

Enquiry by Royal Commission—Purchase of Site—Date and Cost of
 Erection—Consecration—Ornaments—Destruction by Fire—Res-
 toration—Sir John Vanbrugh and Thomas Archer—Various Opin-
 ions on Architecture—Services—Organ—Damage by Lightning—
 Internal Restoration and Alteration—the Church Plate—Windows
 —Monuments and Inscriptions—Clock—Vaults.

ARRIVED, as by gravitation, at the one edifice in
 which every parishioner may be said to have a
 sacred interest, we pause before entering, not to ask
 the date of its foundation, nor to comment on the source
 where the cost was provided. These give rise to no uncer-
 tain speculations; they are 'public property.' Rather we
 pause to reflect upon the circumstances which led to the
 erection of a church, with a civil parish, within the small
 area (422 acres, exclusive of Knightsbridge), over which the
 mother parish and the precincts of the Abbey extended.
 Who advised the choice of a site so near the mother church?
 What was the condition of the parish that such a division

was rendered necessary? To the first of these questions an answer, ready to hand, is given hereafter; but a diligent search among the records, aided by the courteous assistance of the librarians at Lambeth Palace, at the Record Office, at the House of Commons, at the Privy Council Office, at the Diocesan Registry and elsewhere, has failed to supply an answer to the second. The report of the Royal Commission, whose labours will be referred to presently, appointed to enquire in what parishes new churches were necessary, is not accessible; but the possibility of the Commission having adopted the suggestions of Convocation is not overlooked.

In the parish church of St. Margaret, the accommodation had, at this time (1708), only recently been enlarged by the construction of Sir John Cutler's gallery; there was near at hand the Broadway Chapel (now Christ Church) with more than 1,000 seats, easy of access to the parishioners living in and about Strutton-ground, Peter-street, Orchard-street, and Pye-street. Besides this the Duke-street Chapel and the Queen-square Chapel were newly available for public worship, while the smaller chapels of Emanuel Hospital, Emery Hill's Almshouses, the Grey Coat Hospital, Whicher's Almshouses and Palmer's Almshouses, by meeting the requirements of the inmates, relieved to a corresponding degree the pressure on the space in the mother church and the Broadway Chapel. At first sight we might be inclined to conclude that these two spacious edifices were equal to the parochial needs; but it is only necessary to say that the population of the mother parish was estimated at 16,000 souls.

Reluctantly abandoning the search for information relating directly to the moral and spiritual condition of Westminster, we find abundant evidence relating to the Metropolis generally which, in the absence of any allusion to exceptional circumstances, may be taken as applying to Westminster.

The opening of the eighteenth century found the more prominent Divines much engaged in controversy and debate, with jealousy and disagreement prevailing between the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation. As a consequence, the religious habits of the people became relaxed and presented an unedifying spectacle. Nevertheless, the period was not wholly without more cheerful signs in the foundation of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; and Addison* bears witness to the institution of charity schools at this time, and applauds it as one of the greatest instances of public spirit the age had produced. The encouragement and liberal assistance given by the Queen in relinquishing her claim to the tenths and first fruits, while it had a great effect on the minds of her subjects,† did not allay a widespread uneasiness and murmuring that the established religion of the people was in great danger. On the contrary, this uneasiness was fanned into active excitement by the publication of a pamphlet‡, which would now be permitted to run its course, but which was then publicly burned before the Royal Exchange.

The debates in Parliament showed a singular mixture of politics and religion, which was by no means ameliorated

* *Spectator*, No. 294.

† See Hodgson's *Account of Queen Anne's Bounty*, and Wilmot's *Queens of England*, from the latter of which the following is quoted :—

"The liberality of the Sovereign towards the Established Church goes far to account for the extraordinary veneration in which the donor of Queen Anne's Bounty was held long after her death. Her Majesty, on her accession, was entitled to the first-fruits and tenths of every benefice or dignity conferred by the Crown. With praiseworthy self-denial, Anne, instead of appropriating these gains to the amplification of her personal power or magnificence, formed with the money a fund to augment the miserable stipends which often fall to the lot of the most excellent of our clergy, and it has been carrying on its good work from that day to this. . . . The extent of Anne's privy purse charity was unknown till after her death, for she gave without ostentation, and no flatterers were employed to trumpet her goodness. If she was frugal, it was to enable her to be generous, and all she could spare was returned to the people as her right. All this was done without anything that looked like sordid saving—no retrenching her servants at their tables, allowances or perquisites; the hospitality within doors was equal to the charity without."

‡ "A Memorial of the Church of England." The Queen issued a proclamation offering £1,000 reward for the discovery of the author, but without success.

by a sermon preached before the Lord Mayor by Dr. Henry Sacheverell, Chaplain of St. Saviour's, Southwark, of which 40,000 copies were sold, nor by his impeachment before the House of Commons. The trial and the riots connected with it had their effect upon the public mind, and exercised an immediate influence on the new Parliament and on Convocation, which met on the same day.

Wordsworth thus refers to the state of public feeling at this time :—

“ Fears, true or feigned,
Spread through all ranks ; and lo ! the sentinel
Who loudest rang his pulpit larum bell,
Stands at the bar. . . .

High and Low,
Watchwords of party, on all tongues are rife ;
As if a Church, though sprung from Heaven, must owe
To opposites and fierce extremes her life—
Not to the golden mean, and quiet flow
Of truths that soften hatred, temper strife.”

Amongst the many matters recommended by the Queen for the consideration of Convocation was the drawing-up of a representation on the state of religion, with regard to the excessive growth of infidelity, heresy and profaneness. A statement was accordingly drafted by Dr. Atterbury, Dean of Carlisle,* who had been elected Prolocutor in preference to the nominee of the Archbishop. It reviewed at great length the license of the press, the frauds of pagan and popish priests, the selling of mock catechisms in the streets, the ill-effects of the revolution of 1688, the profaneness and licentiousness of the stage, and the gradual defection from piety and virtue to irreligious ignorance. After prolonged deliberation, the statement was adopted by the Lower House as answering the purpose intended by the Queen ; but the Bishops rejected it as magnifying the grievances and corruptions of the day. A counter representation agreed upon by the Upper House was discarded by the Clergy, and finally nothing was determined upon.

* Atterbury was not installed in the Deanery of Westminster until 1713.

In a letter addressed to Convocation by the Queen* her Majesty writes: "It is with great grief of Heart Wee observe the scandalous Attempts which of late Years have been made to infect the minds of our Good Subjects by loose and prophane Principals openly scattered and propagated among them. Wee think the consultations of the Clergy particularly requisite to repress these daring Attempts and to prevent the like for the future." The letter goes on to express a hope that the Queen's good intentions in that behalf "may not be defeated by any unreasonable disputes between the two Houses of Convocation about unnecessary Forms and Methods of proceeding." In a subsequent letter the Queen writes "I have done my part, and expect that you will lay aside what may hinder the good effect of my license, and apply yourselves heartily to those weighty matters."

An active participator in these proceedings was Dr. Onley, Prebendary of St. Peter's, and for more than twenty years Minister† of St. Margaret's. To his life-long connection with Westminster (he had been educated at Westminster School), and to his watchful interest and foresight, may probably be attributed the benefit Westminster derived from the accidental extrication from the deadlock just described.

A violent storm, which occurred on the 28th November, 1710, caused much damage to property in London and the suburbs. The parish of Greenwich suffered by the total destruction of the church, already, by its ruinous condition, an easy prey for the hurricane. The inhabitants thereupon

* Proceedings of the Lower House of Convocation, 1710—11. M.S. Lib. 11, fo. 5—7, Lambeth Palace Library.

† The Rectory of the parish vested in the Dean and Chapter. Nicholas Onley became a Westminster scholar through a singular accident. His father was the porter at a tavern in the Strand, and was one day sent on an errand by a gentleman of good family and fortune of the same name as himself. Struck by this coincidence, and pleased with the old man's appearance, the gentleman adopted young Nicholas, the porter's only son, sent him to school and left him his fortune. Dr. Onley died September 28th, 1724, aged 84.

petitioned Parliament for assistance to rebuild. In dealing with this petition the House took the opportunity of enquiring into the general subject of church accommodation in the Metropolis, and were informed that the London churches, though numerous, were, with few exceptions, exceedingly small, and rather resembled village churches than such as were adapted to the rapidly growing population of a city like London. It was also asserted that in the suburbs there were 200,000 persons more than could possibly find accommodation in the existing churches. The House of Commons immediately appointed a Committee, by whom the proffered co-operation of Convocation was readily accepted.* The Queen also sent a special message to Parliament on 29th March, 1711 :—

Anne R.

Her Majesty having received an Address from the archbishop, bishops, and clergy of the province of Canterbury, in Convocation assembled, to recommend to the Parliament the great and necessary work of building more Churches within the Bills of Mortality, is graciously pleased to approve so good and pious a design ; and does accordingly very heartily recommend the carrying on the same, to this House, particularly in and about the cities of London and Westminster ; and does not doubt but effectual care will be taken in this matter, which may be so much to the advantage of the Protestant religion, and the firmer establishment of the Church of England.

On the 6th April a report was presented by the Committee, “that in the several parishes in and about the suburbs of the cities of London and Westminster fifty new churches are necessary, . . . computing 4,750 souls to each church.” The report having been referred to a Committee of the whole House, and considered, the Speaker, with the House, waited on the Queen at St. James’s, on 9th April, with the following address :—

Most Gracious Sovereign,—We, your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, have, with the utmost satisfaction, received your Majesty’s gracious message, recommending to us the great and necessary work of building fifty new churches in and about the Cities of London and Westminster.

* Cobbett. *Parliamentary History*, vol. vi. Burnet. *Hist. of His Own Time*, vols. v. and vi. Boyer *Reign of Queen Anne*.

We are sensible how much the want of them hath contributed to the increase of Schism and Irreligion, and shall not therefore fail to do our parts towards the supplying that defect, being entirely disposed to promote everything that is for the interest of the established Church, and the honour of your Majesty's reign. Neither the long expensive War in which we are engaged, nor the pressure of heavy debts under which we labour, shall hinder us from granting to your Majesty whatever is necessary to accomplish so excellent a design, which we hope may be a means of drawing down blessings from heaven on all your Majesty's other undertakings, as it adds to the number of those places where the prayers of your devout and faithful subjects will be daily offered up to God, for the prosperity of your Majesty's government at home, and the success of your arms abroad."

The piety and liberality of the vote of Parliament is said to have given great public satisfaction. The Act (9 Anne, cap. 22), which was passed to give effect to the vote, imposed duties upon coals and culm brought into the Port of London, and directed that the income therefrom be applied for the building of fifty new churches, for the purchase of sites, and for the provision of church-yards and burial places in or near the cities of London and Westminster, or the suburbs thereof. The Act also empowered the Queen to appoint Commissioners to enquire in what parishes new churches were necessary, and to report to the Queen and to Parliament before 24th December, 1711; but no provision was made for the formation of new parishes. In its enthusiasm, Parliament had under-estimated the time in which the Commission would be able to complete its enquiry and agree upon its report. Another Act was therefore passed in the following year (10 Anne, cap. 11), to enlarge the time and extend the powers previously granted.

The Commission did not, however, await this further legislation before setting about their trust in earnest, for on the 4th October, 1711, they addressed a letter to the Vestry of St. Margaret, intimating their desire "to proceed in soe Useful and Pious a Work with all possible expedition," and calling for a return of the number of inhabitants, and of suitable sites for a church and churchyard, also enquiring whether there were any chapels within the parish fit to be

made parish churches. The aid of the Burgesses and their Assistants was at once invoked in obtaining an enumeration of the residents within the different wards; but before this could be completed, and within a month from the date of their first letter, the Commission complained of the delay, and pressed for an immediate answer. This the Vestry agreed upon without delay:—

To the Most Rev^d. Father in God Thomas Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the Hon^{ble} Comrs appointed by her Matie Pursuant to a late Act of Parliamt (Intituled an Act for granting to her Matie severall Duties upon Coals for Building 50 New Churches in and about the Cities of London and Westminster).

The Representacon of the Minister Churchwardens and Vestry of the Parish of St. Marg^{tt} Westm^r in the County of Midd^x in Answer to a Letter Recd. bearing Date the 4th of Octobr 1711.

That the Number of Souls in the Parish of St. Marg^{tt} Westm^r as near as can be Computed is about Twenty Thousand.

That the Condicon of the Inhabitants is such that the Rates with other monys allotted to the maintenance of the poor amount at this time to Three Thousand pounds p. ann. & is still likely to encrease.

That in sevl^l of the out parts of the s^d Parish there are great number of Poor people which will make it very difficult to allow due proporcons of the Poor and Rich in case it shall be thought fit to erect any new Parish or Parishes within the said Parish of St. Marg^{tt} Westminster.

That there is a peece of Ground of about Seaven Acres near Milbank in the said Parish which is freehold and the Estate of Henry Smith Esq^{re} who has Declared his willingness to Dispose of an acre and a Quarter of the said Ground for the sume of Five hundred Pounds.

That there is alsoe another peece of Ground at the end of Marsham Street being the Freehold Estate of Sir Robert Marsham, Barr Containing about an Acre fit for the same use, which Ground Sr Robert has sent word to the Vestry he is willing to part with but he being not in Town the Vestry dont know the price thereof.

There is in the said Parish one Church commonly Called the New Chappell which holds upwards of 1200 People & in our Judgment the said Chappell is fit to be made Parochial.

That there are Two other Chappells one in or near Queen Square
& the other in Duke Street, neither of which in our Judgments
are fit to be made Parochial.

Cha: Battely, Thomas Blissett, Tho: Wisdome,
Edward Tufnell, Sam^{ll} Brown, Emery Arguis,
Geo: Mortimer, Robert Jeffes, Edward Clift,

NICHO. ONLEY, D.D.

JAMES HUNTER, } *Church*
RICH^d. FILER, } *Wardens.*

[Copie.]

It is desired by this Vestry that the Rev^d Dr Nicho: Onley with
the Churchwardens wait on the said Com^{rs} & p'sent the said
Representacon.

On 1st June, 1713, a contract for sale and purchase of a
parcel of ground was executed between Henry Smith,
Treasurer to the Commissioners, John Lowndes, Secre-
tary to the Treasury, and the Commissioners, for
the sum of £700, which included sufficient land to
form a new street, forty-five feet wide, to com-
municate with Millbank-street, and an additional
plot for the erection of a house for the minister
of the intended new church. Seymour's *Survey* (1735)
states that the church was commenced in 1721; but the
"Declared Accounts" in the Public Record Office show
that nearly ten thousand pounds had been paid to the
builders before December, 1715.

The items relating to St. John's Church have been
extracted for insertion here:—

COST OF THE BUILDING OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH;

*Extracted from the Declared Accounts of the Treasurers of the
Fund for building fifty New Churches in London and West-
minster, 1712—1741; Audit Office, Bundles 437, 438, & 439,
preserved at the Public Record Office.*

Bundle 437, Roll 1 (to July 1712—25 Mar 1714. H. Smith, Treasurer).

Henry Smith, Esq, for a piece of Ground for ye Scite of
a Church & Ministers House Situate in ye Pish
of St Marg^{ts} Westm^r in ye County of Midd^x as by
like Warr^t and the Agte of the said Mr. Smith ... c
vij*li*.

* More to ye ^{sd} Thos Hues and W^m Tuffnell, Bricklayers, employ'd to Build the New Church erecting w^{thin} the parish of St. Margarett, Westminster being p^d & advanced to them by way of Impst for ye ^{sd} Service by a like Warr^t dated the xith of Novemb^r 1713 as by the ^{sd} Warr^t & their Receipts ... viij^l/_i.

Roll 2 (25 Mar. 1714—9 Dec. 1715. H. Smith, Treasurer).

Samuel Wood, Watchman, employed at the New Church erecting in the parish of St. Margarett, Westminster. By like Warrant and Acquittance ... xxxiiij^l/_i. vis.

More to the said Thomas Hues and William Tuffnell, Bricklayers, employed to Build the New Church erecting within the Parish of St Margarett Westminster being paid and advanced to them by way of Imprest for the said Service by a like Warrant dated xith of November 1713. As by the said Warrant and their Receipts ... c viij^l/_i.

Thomas Hues and William Tuffnell, Bricklayers, Employed in Building the New Church in the parish of St. Margarets Westminster Imprested to them upon Accompt of Bricklayers work by them done there. t t By Three Warrants, etc. etc. ... M.M.c.^l/_i.

Edward Tuffnell and Edward Strong, Masons work by them performed at the said Church, &c., &c. v.M^l/_i.

John Skeat in part and upon Accompt of Smith's work by him done at the said Church, etc. etc. ... c viij^l/_i.

Robert Jeffes and John James, Imprested to them for Carpenter's work done at the said Church, etc. etc. c iiij^l/_i.

George Norris by way of Imprest for Digging the foundation of the said Church, etc. etc. ... cxxx^l/_i.

Roll 3 (9 Dec. 1715—24 June 1717. J. Leacroft, Treasurer).

Edward Strong and Edward Tuffnell, Masons, for Masons work by them done and Materials Used in building the Church at Westminster within the years 1713, 1714, 1715 and 1716 ... Mt c xij. vj. lxxvj^l/_i. xvijs.

John James and Robert Jeffes, Carpenters, for Carpenters work by them done and Material used in building the said Church in the years 1713, 1714, and 1715 ... c xx vj. iiijxxvij^l/_i. xiijs. viij^l/_d.

John Grove another Carpenter for Carpenters work by him done and Materials used in building the said Church in the year 1713 ... lvj^l/_i. xvs.

* Previous payments for work at the churches at East Greenwich and St. George-the-Martyr. Nearly every one of the earlier tradesmen employed (including Hues and Tuffnell) were of the parish of St. Margaret.

Bundle 438, Roll 6 (26 Dec. 1723—25 Dec. 1725. N. Blackerby, Treasurer).

John Skeat, Smith, for work done and materials							
used ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	xlix <i>li</i> . vijs. viij <i>d</i> .
William Tuffnell, Bricklayer ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...ccxiiij <i>li</i> . xvs.
John Langley, Joyner, for fframing the Timber and Pew-							
ing the Gallery of the said new Church ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	vii <i>li</i> . viijs.
John Lock, Carpenter ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	cclxxiiij <i>li</i> . xiijs. v <i>d</i> .

Roll 7 (26 Dec. 1725—25 Dec. 1727. N. Blackerby, Treasurer).

To the Artificers and others undernamed employed in Building
the New Church at Westminster :—

Edwd. Strong, Mason ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	^t Mccclxix <i>li</i> . vijs. viij <i>d</i> .
William Tuffnell, Bricklayer ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	^{xx} ccciijv <i>li</i> . xvs. viij <i>d</i> .
John Lock, Carpenter ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	^t Mviiij ^c lxxv <i>li</i> . viiis. j <i>d</i> .
William Langley, Joyner, and his						
Executors ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	^c vj ^c xiiij <i>li</i> . xvijs. viij <i>d</i> .
John Cleave, Smith ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	clxviiij <i>li</i> . xs.
Thomas Goff, Smith ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	^{xx} cciiijxij <i>li</i> . v <i>d</i> .
John Boson, Carver ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	ccxxvj <i>li</i> . xvijs. j <i>d</i> .
Isaac Mansfield, Plasterer ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	^c v ^c l <i>li</i> . ijs. viij <i>d</i> .
James Preedy, Painter ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	liiij <i>li</i> . x <i>d</i> .
John Reynolds, Painter ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	iii <i>li</i> . iijs.
Geo. Osborn, Plumber ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	cclxj <i>li</i> . xixs. j <i>d</i> .
Charles Scriven, Glazier ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	^{xx} iiijvj <i>li</i> . viijs.
John Turner, for Charcoal ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	xxj <i>li</i> . vijs. v <i>d</i> .

Roll 8 (26 Dec. 1727—25 Dec. 1729. N. Blackerby, Treasurer).

Edward Strong, Mason ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	^c v ^c liiij <i>li</i> . xvijs. viij <i>d</i> .
Wm. Tuffnell, Bricklayer ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	^{xx} ciijxviij <i>li</i> . iijs. v <i>d</i> .
John Lock, Carpenter ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	^c v ^c x <i>li</i> . xs. viij <i>d</i> .
John Boson, Carver ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	xxs.
John Cleave, Thos. Goff and John Robins,						
Smiths... ..	...	...	...	...	...	^{xx} iiijxiiij <i>li</i> . xvijs. v <i>d</i> .
George Deval, Plumber ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	cclxx <i>li</i> . vjs. x <i>d</i> .
Isaac Mansfield, Plasterer ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	xiijs. j <i>d</i> .
George Clayfield and Jn ^o Reynold,						
Painters ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	^c xvj <i>li</i> . ix <i>s</i> . viij <i>d</i> .
John Mist, Pavior ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	^c v ^c lxxvj <i>li</i> . vijs. x <i>d</i> .

Roll 9 (26 Dec. 1729—25 Dec. 1731.—N. Blackerby, Treasurer).

John Boson, Carver ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	xxij <i>li</i> . vs. x <i>d</i> .
Christopher Cass, Mason ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	clx <i>li</i> . ix <i>s</i> . v <i>d</i> .
George Deval, Plumber ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	lxix <i>li</i> . xxi <i>d</i> .

Thomas Goff, Smith	xxxij <i>li.</i>	xis.	xd.
Nicholas Hawksmore, Esq. for making a Model of a Twisted Column and for his Disbursements for Watching ...	ix <i>li.</i>	vjs.	
John Lock, Carpenter	iiij ^{c xx} · iiijvj <i>li.</i>	xijs.	iiij <i>d.</i>
Isaac Mansfield, Plasterer	xvj <i>li.</i>	xvs.	vd
John Preedy, Painter	x <i>li.</i>	ijs.	jd
John Reynolds, Painter		xxxixs.	
Charles Scriven, Glazier	liiiij <i>li.</i>	xvjs.	jd.
William Tuffnell, Bricklayer	vij ^c · iiij <i>li.</i>	ixs.	ix <i>d.</i>
Bundle 439, Roll 10 (26 Dec. 1731—25 Dec. 1733.	N. Blackerby, Treasurer).		
Christopher Cass, Mason	clxij <i>li.</i>	vij <i>s.</i>	xd.
Ann Clayfield Executor of George Clay- field, Painter		xxvijs.	
George Deval, Plumber	xxvj <i>li.</i>	xvs.	xj <i>d.</i>
Thomas Goff, Smith	xxxvj <i>li.</i>	vs.	vj <i>d.</i>
John Lock, Carpenter	ix <i>li.</i>	vs.	viiij <i>d.</i>
Wm. Tuffnell, Bricklayer... ..	xxxiiij <i>li.</i>	viijs.	iiij <i>d.</i>

Roll 11 (*In part duplicate of Roll 10*).

Roll 12 (26 Dec. 1733—24 June, 1736. N. Blackerby, Treasurer).

Isaac Mansfield, Plasterer	v <i>li.</i>	iiij <i>s.</i>	vj <i>d.</i>
John Mist, Pavior	xx <i>li.</i>	xvijs.	vj <i>d.</i>

Roll 13 (24 June 1736—29 Sept. 1741).

Nil.

From the following summary, which omits the proportionate parts of the consolidated payments (£5,900) made for several churches, architect's commission and proportion of salaries of secretary and treasurer, it will be seen that the cost was not less than £40,875.

		£	s.	d.	
Roll 1	...	{	700	0	0 (For Ground)
	...	{	800	0	0
" 2	...		9,264	6	0
" 3	...		17,917	13	5
" 4	...		540	0	0
" 5	...		1,612	19	8
" 6	...		546	4	2
" 7	...		6,010	0	1
" 8	...		2,320	8	8
" 9	...		1,568	9	9
" 10	...		269	10	3
" 12	...		26	2	0
			41,575	14	0
Deduct cost of Site ...			700	0	0
Minimum cost of Church			£40,875	14	0

An analysis has also been made of the amounts paid to the different classes of artificers, viz. :—

			£	s.	d.
Bricklayer	...	...	9,898	4	5
Smith	...	...	1,678	2	0
Carpenter and Joiner	...	...	5,910	9	9
Digging Foundations	...	...	283	13	2
Mason	...	...	20,035	13	10
Plumber	...	...	1,339	1	5
Painter	...	...	96	5	11
Plasterer	...	...	572	15	7
Carver	...	...	250	3	0
Pavior	...	...	597	5	4
Glazier	...	...	141	4	1
Watchman	...	...	34	6	0
Sundries	...	...	38	9	6
			<hr/>		
			£40,875	14	0

Mr. Walcott records that “the title of the sacred building was derived from the chapel of that name in the Abbey ; for St. John the Evangelist was the patron saint of King Edward the Confessor, the pious founder of the mother church of St. Margaret, in which was held a fraternity of St. John.” But it is not at all improbable that in dedicating the Church to St. John the Evangelist, the Commission were guided by Dr. Onley, who could not have taken an active interest for forty years or more in St. Margaret’s and in the Abbey, without having gained some knowledge of the chapel dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, which had been lost to Westminster for nearly two centuries. During the reigns of Edward III. (1327) and Richard II. (1377) a chapel dedicated to St. John the Evangelist had existed in Westminster. Mr. J. T. Smith, in his *Antiquities of Westminster*, 1807, refers to a contention as to jurisdiction between the Abbot of St. Peter’s and the Dean and Canons of St. Stephen’s, which difference was settled by deed of compromise in 1394. In that deed the chapel of St. John the Evangelist was specially reserved. After a close examination of local details the author of the valuable work just named (pp. 104 and 127)

fixed the position of the chapel as being to the south of the chapel of St. Stephen, and on the site of Cotton Garden, close to the Painted Chamber. The chapel, which was suppressed by Edward VI. (1547), had an annual revenue of £1,085 10s. 5d.

Seventeen years elapsed between the purchase of the site and the consecration ceremony. The building operations, which occupied fifteen years of this time, were prolonged by difficulties which the porous nature of the subsoil occasioned, and which, as will be hereafter seen, caused an alteration in the design. Early in 1728 the structural work was completed, and the parishioners, with others who had been impatiently awaiting the withdrawal of the workmen, welcomed the assembling of the Commissioners, the neighbouring clergy, and the choristers from the Abbey, over whom, as

They entered now the aisles so tall,
The darkened roof rose high aloof
On pillars lofty, and light and small.

SCOTT.

The ceremony of consecration, which took place on 20th June, 1728, was performed by Dr. Bradford, Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, assisted by Dr. Gee, Minister of St. Margaret's, and Dr. Charles Pinfold, on behalf of the Dean and Chapter. The sermon was preached by Dr. Denn, Minister of Shoreditch,* and son-in-law to the Bishop. The Proctor's bill of costs incidental to the ceremony was £28 12s. The church was not opened for public worship until 10th November—nearly five months after the consecration ceremony.

As soon as the congregation had had time to survey the fine proportions of their new church, the Vestry appointed a committee to ascertain what ornaments should be provided. At their meeting on 25th September, 1730, the committee agreed upon their report:—

The Committee after enquiring into the matters referred to them by

* *The London Journal*, June 22, 1728.

the Vestry, and having consulted the Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical and Articles commonly exhibited to Churchwardens to make their Presentments, found the several things following which concern the Church, and which the Parish are obliged to procure, wanting, viz :—

“A Box for Alms. A carpet and fine linnen cloth for the Communion Table. A Flaggon. Cups and Covers for Bread. Lord’s Prayer, Creed and Commandments in fair letters and at the East End of the Church. King’s Arms set up. A Table of Degrees of Marriage. A Chest with three locks. A Register Book in Parchment.

Besides these things they agreed that Two Dishes were wanting for the collection of Alms at Sacraments and upon Briefs, and that two more Surplices should be provided.

The Committee were of opinion that the Carpet for the Communion Table should be made of Velvet and have a Gold Lace and Fringe and that there should be two Cushions of the same with Gold cords and tassels and two Common Prayer books finely bound and gilt, a Velvet Cushion and Vallance for the Pulpit, two Silver Flaggons two Chalices and Pattens, and one Silver Dish.

The Committee were also of opinion that a large Double Branch of Brass for Candles would be a usefull ornament as would also be Curai s to the East Windows.

Resolved that it is necessary to have a large Table for the Vestry Room, two dozen of Chairs, one Elbow one and a Carpet, all which things they think may be procured for about £300 or thereabouts.”

On the 25th March, 1731, after the church had been open two years and five months, an order was given for the articles scheduled by the committee to be obtained, the delay having been occasioned by the collection of subscriptions to defray the cost. Four years later (22nd May, 1735) the Vestry accorded a vote of thanks to Mr. Thomas Churchill and Mr. Pratt “for the King’s Arms given by them to the Church.”

An unexpected but short-lived trouble was now experienced—a trouble which “Old Westminster” would fain expunge from the official records, were it not that the school of to-day can well afford the comparison with its out-door conduct of 1739.

“When you shall these unlucky deeds relate,
 . . . nothing extenuate,
Nor set down aught in malice.”

Let the Vestry minutes speak for themselves :—

*8th May, 1739.** The windows of this Church having been frequently broke and the Inhabitants put to continual Expenses and otherwise very much annoyed by some of the scholars belonging to Westminster School,

Ordered that a Memorial be drawn up and presented to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster for redress of the said grievances.

We now have to chronicle a real misfortune. On Sunday, 26th September, 1742, as morning service was about to be conducted by the Rev. Charles Churchill, father of the poet, an alarming outbreak of fire was caused by "part of the timber of the roof lying in or too near the funnel of the chimney in the Vestry." Such extinguishing appliances as could be requisitioned in time were of no avail until the fire had consumed the communion table and rails, pews, pulpit, desks, galleries, roof, and everything combustible in the Church and vestry. The "fire brigade" then, for the first time, became of service in cooling the piles of *débris* from the fallen roof. Nothing but the walls, with three of the towers or pinnacles, remained intact ; even the twelve magnificent stone columns were damaged beyond repair, the heavy iron work of the roof was rendered useless, and the south-west tower was left in an unsafe condition.

The conflagration was thus reported in *Rayner's London Morning Advertiser* of Wednesday, Sept. 29. 1742 :—

"Sunday morning last, about Ten of the Clock, a terrible Fire broke out in the Vestry Room of St. John the Evangelist's Church at Mill-

* It is not improbable that the mischief complained of was practised as the boys returned from their ditch-jumping expeditions in the open fields. There were 339 boys in the school at the time. Among those who passed on to the Universities and afterwards occupied important and distinguished positions were :—Edward Smallwell (Curate of St. John's, Chaplain to the King, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Bishop of Oxford), T. Franklin (Professor of Greek at Cambridge, Chaplain to the King, Vicar of Ware, and Rector of Brasted), Lewis Devisme (Ambassador to Sweden), Thomas Cornthwaite (Rector of Hackney), Nicholas Brady (Rector of Tooting), Richard Parry (Rector of Whichampton), John Powell (Vicar of Sheedy Campe), David Tanqueray (Rector of Tingniffe), Samuel Markham (Vicar of Leatherhead), George Maitland (son of the Earl of Lauderdale), and Thomas Barnard (Dean of Derry and Bishop of Limerick).

bank, Westminster, just before Divine Service, which burnt with that Fierceness that in about two Hours it entirely consumed all the inside of the said Church and the Roof thereof, and left nothing standing but the Stone Walls, though all possible Diligence was used by the Fire-men ; but Water was very scarce, none being to be had, but what was drawn upon Sledges from the River Thames."

A large picture of the Church while in ruins was presented to the parish by Godsalve Crosse, Esq., on 8th February, 1787, and has since remained in the Vestry. On its removal, recently, for cleaning and restoration, a reduced copy was made by photo-gravure for insertion here:—



Although fire insurance offices had been transacting business in London nearly sixty years, the authorities had

not protected the parish in any way against such a loss. The parishioners were consequently at their wits' ends to devise means for defraying the cost of restoration, which was estimated at £3,757. The Vestry was called together on the first possible day following the fire; but after appointing a committee of investigation, adjourned owing to the absence of Dr. Willes, the Rector, on his diocesan duties at St. David's. In six weeks' time his lordship returned to town and attended the Vestry. He gave no encouragement, however, to a proposal to provide a temporary place of worship by fitting up "the piazzas under the new dormitory" of Westminster School for the performance of Divine service. An appeal to the First Lord of the Treasury was agreed upon; but Sir John Crosse,* to whom the presentation of the petition had been entrusted, reported that the Government were not disposed to assist. An application was then made to the Churchwardens of St. Margaret's to call a meeting of the two Vestries. This was also fruitless, as the Churchwardens, while declaring their willingness to join in the promotion of a subscription, felt themselves unable to convene a meeting of the Vestries. The Vestry of St. John's thereupon abandoned the proposal to solicit a public subscription. Twelve months' deliberations having failed to produce a solution of the difficulty, another petition to the Treasury was resorted to as the only expedient. After reciting the damage done, and the estimated cost of repair, the petitioners set forth that they were charged with the rate for the Rector's maintenance while there was no Church for them to attend, and that many of the inhabitants were quitting their houses on that account. The Rev. Joseph Sims, who had entered upon the Rectory shortly after the fire had occurred, had waived his claim to the rate. His predecessor, Dr. Willes, who had by this time been translated from St. David's to Bath and

* His father had been elected M.P. for Westminster four times. Sir John became member in 1754.

Wells, was less considerate, for he increased the perplexities of the Vestry by pressing for his quarter's stipend due at the time of the disaster. There being no funds in hand, a temporary relief from this minor difficulty was afforded by one of the members, who advanced the sum claimed by the Bishop.

1553013

Under the guidance of the new Rector, who seems to have taken up his residence in the parish, and to have distinguished himself for a time by his activity, the second appeal to the Government proceeded more hopefully, and the Vestry were encouraged by the Rector's report that Mr. Pelham, who was then First Lord of the Treasury, had promised his support to the prayer of the petition. On the 20th February, 1744 (new style), the Vestry was jubilant with the news brought across from the House that Parliament had voted £4,000 to restore the church, for which exuberant votes of thanks were passed to the First Lord of the Treasury, to Sir John Crosse, and to Sir Robert Grosvenor. The money was shortly afterwards received, less the House fees, amounting to £305 17s. 8d. The one obstacle having been overcome, the Rector, Sir John Crosse, Sir Robert Grosvenor, with the two Churchwardens (Mr. Charles Crosse and Mr. Samuel Price) were constituted a Committee to carry out the work of reparation, and the advice of Mr. James Horne was secured in drawing up the specification. This provided *inter alia* for the removal of the twelve pillars, which had been damaged beyond the possibility of repair, and for the disposal of the other materials destroyed, for which a faculty was decreed by the Dean and Chapter—

“ The columns must share the builder's doom ;
Ruin is theirs, and his a tomb.”

Competition was subsequently invited for the purchase of the twelve pillars with the lead and iron fixed thereto, and for the removal of the same. The highest offer, six pounds,

was accepted. In December, 1745, just seventeen years and-a-half since

“Amid that dim and smoky light,
Chequering the summer sunshine bright,
A Bishop by the altar stood,

With mitre sheen and rocket white”

at the consecration ceremony, and three years and-a-quarter from the date of the fire, the artizan again gave place to the worshipper. The total outlay upon the restoration was £3,920 8s. 8d.; and it is remarkable that while the details of this are entered with great minuteness in the parish books, no account of the re-opening services is preserved. Nor is there a note of dissatisfaction at the internal alterations which had been made during the reconstruction—

“Not but that portions of the pile,
Rebuilt in a latter style,
Showed where the spoiler's hand had been.”

The south-west tower, which was the only part of the exterior destroyed by the fire, was restored to the strict lines of the original, so that, from an external view, the effects of the conflagration were scarcely noticeable.

Our observation easily extends itself from that faithful reproduction to the architectural features of the structure generally, on which a remarkable diversity of opinion has been expressed by numerous writers. The design has been attributed severally to Sir John Vanbrugh, who was one of the Commissioners, and to one of his pupils, Thomas Archer. The majority of the critics favour the view that the latter was the architect, and the doubt seems to be set at rest by the fact that the former, acting as Commissioner, in conjunction with several of the Bishops signed some of the warrants* for the builders' payments on the architect's certificates. While it was incompatible in one of the Commissioners to act also as architect, it was

* Vide Treasury Papers, 1715 to 1723.

most natural that the master mind should be reproduced by the pupil.

Sir John Vanbrugh, architect, poet, and dramatist, born 1666, was of foreign lineage, his grandfather having come over to England from Ghent, at the time of Alva's prosecution of the Protestant Netherlands. According to some anecdotes told of him, he studied architecture in France ; but it is to be regretted that no satisfactory account of his early life has come down to us, for it would be instructive to learn how an architect of such a peculiar taste formed a 'style' which may be called his own. He must have acquired some reputation for architectural skill previously to 1695, for he was then appointed one of the commissioners for completing the palace at Greenwich, when it was about to be converted into a hospital. About the same time he began to distinguish himself as a dramatic writer. Considered merely as literary productions his plays of the 'Relapse' (1697), the 'Provoked Wife' (1698), and the 'Confederacy' (1699), are entitled to unqualified admiration ; but so libertine are they in plot and sentiment, as to be banished not only from the stage, but almost from the library ; and he who might have been the Molière of our dramatic literature is now consigned (says Knight) to comparative oblivion. He built *inter alia* Castle Howard, Duncombe Hall, and Grimsthorpe, Yorkshire ; King's Weston, near Bristol ; Oulton Hall, Cheshire ; and Blenheim for the first Duke of Marlborough. His architecture, which certainly is heavy, brought down upon him the ridicule of Swift and Pope, more especially as he was so many-sided, and poached on their domains as a poet and wit. Vanbrugh at one time held the office of Clarenceux King of Arms, which he afterwards disposed of. Hence Swift's satirical verses :—

"Van (for 'tis fit the reader know it)
Is both an Herald and a Poet ;
No wonder then if nicely skill'd
In both capacities to build."

As Herald he can in a day
 Repair a House gone to decay ;
 Or by achievements, arms, device,
 Erect a new one in a trice ;
 And as a Poet he has skill
 To build in speculation still."

And Pope speaks of him (Sat. v)—

"How Van wants grace, who never wanted wit."

Sir John died at his house at Whitehall (built by himself), March 26, 1726. Despite his licentious pen, his private character appears to have been amiable and his conduct tolerably correct (Knight) ; and even his opponents Swift and Pope admitted that he was both 'a man of wit and man of honour.'

Thomas Archer was the son of Thomas Archer, M.P. for Warwick in the time of Charles II. He held the office of 'groom porter' under Queen Anne, George I., and George II., and is so styled in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, where his death is recorded (23 May, 1743). About 1705 he built Heythorpe Hall, Oxfordshire, said to have been his first work ; St. Philip's Church, Birmingham, begun in 1711 and finished in 1719 ; Cliefden House, which was destroyed by fire ; and many other buildings, of which there is sufficient record in the Dictionary of the Architectural Publication Society. The date of his birth is not known ; but at his death, in 1743, he must have reached an advanced age. He is said to have left £100,000 to his youngest nephew, H. Archer, Esq. member for Warwick.*

Among the earliest references to the architectural features of the church is that of Chamberlain, in his *New and Compleat History and Survey of London and Westminster*, 1769, in which he states that the edifice—

"Is remarkable only for having sunk while it was building, which occasioned an alteration in the plan. On the north and south sides are magnificent porticoes, supported by vast stone pillars, as is also the roof of the church. At each of the four corners is a beautiful stone

* Dictionary of National Biography.

tower and pinnacle : these additions were erected that the whole might sink equally, and owe their magnitude to the same cause. The parts of this building are held together by iron bars, which cross within the isles."

In connection with other mishaps in the neighbourhood, the 'sinking' of the structure is referred to by Pope in his *Satire ii*:—

"Right," cries his lordship, "for a rogue in need
To have a taste is insolence indeed :
In me 'tis noble, suits my birth and state,
My wealth unwieldy, and my heap too great."
Then like the sun, let bounty spread her ray,
And shine that superfluity away.
Oh, impudence of wealth ! with all thy store,
How dar'st thou let one worthy man be poor ?
Shall half the new-built churches round thee fall ?
Make quays, build bridges, or repair Whitehall !

John Northouck, in *A New History of London, including Westminster and Southwark*, 1773, informs us that:—

"This church was erected in an area on the north side of Vine-street, Millbank, and was finished in 1728 ; but the low swampy nature of the soil it was founded on caused it to sink while it was building, and produced an alteration in the plan. On the north and south sides are magnificent Doric porticoes, supported by vast stone pillars, as is also the roof of the church.

The chief aim of the architect was to give an uncommon, yet elegant outline, and to shew the orders in their greatest dignity and perfection, and indeed the outline is so variously broken, that there results a diversity of light and shadow, which is very uncommon, and very elegant. The principal objections against the structure are, that it is so much decorated that it appears encumbered with ornament ; and that the compass being too small for the design, it appears too heavy."

The Rev. Joseph Nightingale, in his entertaining and comprehensive *Beauties of England and Wales*, 1815 (*tit.* London and Middlesex, Vol. 3, part 2), makes an interesting reference to the church:—

"This is one of the most singular, not to say whimsical, buildings in or near the metropolis.

It is one of the fifty two new churches built soon after the time of Sir Christopher Wren : but the reader, who has seen it, will not need

to be informed, that no pupil of his was the architect. It is the work of Mr. Archer, who has certainly shewn no little skill, or power of invention, on this occasion.

At each of the four angles is a beautiful stone tower and a pinnacle. It is said that these additions were erected, that the whole might sink equally, and owe their magnitude to the same cause.

If this is the true reason given for the erection of this tower, and pinnacles, are we to suppose, that the architect anticipated a second accident, or suspected, after all, the solidity of his foundation? And could he calculate on the certainty in case it should again give way, of its sinking in every part equally? This, indeed, would appear to be the case, for the various parts of the whole fabric are fastened together by strong iron bars, which intersect even the aisles.

On viewing this church at a distance one is reminded of the towers of Moscow; or the massy ornaments of Constantinople; but on approaching it, the numerous pillars, porticos, and pilasters, crowded into a small space, and almost hiding and intersecting each other in one solid mass, confuse and almost confound the view; and certainly, in my estimation, produce every sort of sensation but those that are inspired by grandeur of design and simplicity of execution.

It has been attributed to Vanburg; and the *weight* of the building would seem to justify the assertion; but this, however, is not the fact.

Some forty or fifty years ago, this edifice was much injured by fire; and the work was thought to have suffered so as to endanger the roof. It was not, however, till within these three years, that the roof was propped up by four pieces of square timber, over which not even a plane appears to have passed. They are placed in the body of the church, and remain to this day, to disfigure the interior.

The interior is dark and heavy; nor are there any monuments of interest within its walls. The organ, however, is a very excellent one.

One of the best descriptions of the building is that given in Peter Cunningham's *History of London*, vol. iv., p. 234:—

“This magnificent building differs from the general arrangement of ecclesiastical edifices. The plan is an oblong square, the two narrowest ends of which are contracted by means of sweeps in the walls, forming quadrants of circles, and having porticoes flanked with four square towers attached to the other sides. The north and south sides of the edifice contain the entrances, being, contrary to usual practice, the principal fronts of the building; they are uniform with each other, and the description of one will therefore suffice for both. The elevation commences with a lofty double flight of steps leading to a winged portico of the Doric order, composed of five divisions, the three central ones being recessed, and comprising two columns; the side divisions are marked by antæ; in every division is an arched doorway, with a window of the same form above it; the whole is crowned with the entablature of the order, surmounted by a pediment broken above the centre of the front to let in an arch, flanked by pilasters of the Ionic

order, and covered with a pediment, behind which the church also finishes with a second pediment ; above the side divisions, the towers commence with square stylobates, which taking their rise from the raking cornice of the broken pediment, forcibly add to the character of instability, for which the towers of this church are remarkable.

Above the stylobate the towers take a circular form, and are encircled by four insulated columns rising from the angles of the square portion of the design ; in the north and south elevations are arched windows with circular ones above them ; in the other two intercolumniations are parallelogrammatic openings flanked by pilasters, the whole is crowned with an entablature ; the columns are of the Corinthian order, and the entablature over them is whimsically enough made to assume the circular form ; by means of the latter, the columns are united to the cella ; the roof of each tower is covered with lead forming a bell-shaped cupola ; owing to the defective construction of the building, the whole is greatly out of order ; the perpendicular is lost in some instances, and the columns defaced by being bound to each other, and to the walls of the building by bars of iron. The east and west fronts are uniform ; the elevation commences with a stylobate, in which are windows and entrances to the vaults ; the superstructure is made into four divisions by pilasters, and finished by the entablature, which is continued round the entire building ; in the central division is a large arched window, and in the side ones smaller windows recently walled up in the east front. The attic is raised above the entablature of the order supported by trusses ; in the centre is a niche between grouped antæ, covered with a pediment ; in each flank is a circular headed window of recent construction ; the west end has no windows in the flanks, and those in the side divisions are still open ; the sweeping walls which connect the four fronts commence with a stylobate, and are finished with the continued entablature ; in each are arched windows as before. The church is now covered with an unsightly roof, which was substituted after the fire, for one more appropriate to this splendid building, which before that unfortunate accident was perhaps the most magnificent church in the metropolis after the cathedral ; the roof is now covered with slates.

The interior is approached by small porches within the principal porticoes ; in its present state, it shews a large and handsome area unbroken by pillars or arches. The order is Corinthian, which is carried round the side walls in pilaster, surmounted by a rich entablature ; the grand groups of columns, which formerly occupied the angles of the building, in the style of St. Mary, Woolnoth, were destroyed by the fire ; the small windows in the lateral divisions of the east and west fronts being designed to throw a light behind the columns and prevent the gloom which their great size might otherwise create. The ceiling is horizontal, pannelled into square compartments by flying cornices, the soffits enriched with guillochi ; in the midst of the ceiling is a large circular pannel with a magnificent boss in the centre, the soffits of the pannels are painted a cerulean blue ; the ornamental portions stone colour ; an oak gallery, sustained on insig-

nificant Ionic columns, occupies the west end and the north and south sides ; this gallery is not coeval with the church ; in the western portion is the organ.

The chancel is a large recess, which has been only completed at the late repair, having been in an imperfect state ever since the fire ; it now makes a splendid appearance, owing to the judicious ornaments which were at that time added to it. The east window is enclosed in an enriched architrave, copied from the architecture of the temple of Jupiter Stator, with the addition of a sweeping range of minute cherubic heads round the arch in imitation of statuary marble, and which were copied from a monument in St. Margaret's church ; the new windows in the flanks have also architraves enriched with roses ; the altar screen is composed of five divisions ; the central is occupied by a painting of '*Christ bearing his Cross*,' after Carlo Dolci ; this is situated between two Ionic columns, the shafts imitating Sienna marble ; the other divisions are made by pilasters, and contain the usual inscriptions on pannels, in imitation of various marbles ; above the central division was formerly a pediment interfering with the window ; this has been altered to a light pedimental cornice enriched with honeysuckles. The arched ceiling has a gilt glory in the centre ; the two pilasters at the entrance of the chancel are painted to imitate Sienna marble, and the capitals, modillions, and other enrichments are gilt. The pulpit and desks are situated in one group in front of the altar rails. In the new pewing of the church at the last repair free seats were constructed, but with a contemptible spirit of aristocratic pride, a line of bronze ornamental honey-suckles was constructed to distinguish the humble occupants of the new free seats from the more favourite tenants of the pews—a distinction inimical to the spirit of the Church of England—utterly at variance with Christian benevolence, and disgraceful to any building for religious purposes, in which the 'rich and poor meet together,' or ought to do so. The font is situated in the north-west angle of the church ; it is a neat basin of veined marble on an octagonal pillar."

Commenting in 1815 on the architecture of the church, "An Architect," writing in *The London Magazine*, says :—

"Notwithstanding Vanbrugh appears to have been indifferent as to what point he placed the altar end of his chapel at Blenheim, he on this occasion has been scrupulously correct, as we find his West end, North entrance, South ditto, and East or altar end. Our Knight's essaying to wield the pen as well as compasses, each with equal power, raised against him many enemies as scurrilists, lampoonists, and doggel mongers : among their *keen* hits in this way this comparison seems to have taken the lead ; "St. John's Church bears the idea of an elephant thrown upon its back," ever concluding in one general character as marking all his works—

" Lie heavy on him, Earth, for he
Laid many a heavy load on thee ! " *

* The concluding lines of Dr. Evans's epitaph.

On our part we must observe, if solidity, boldness of features, original design, and one prevailing tour of grandeur which governed his hand wherever he *laid* down his mighty *load*, what genius then is free, what art can merit praise, or what superior skill ever truly receive the meed of universal approbation? With us the turn of thinking is far otherwise; we venerate the name of Vanbrugh, we laud his labours, and we duly appreciate his every architectural example, and none perhaps with greater satisfaction than the article before us. Thus our opinion may, in some degree, either dispel the cloud of obloquy hanging over his memory, or consign our own perverted predilections with those of the good Knight's, to be crushed under one common censure, heaped upon us both by scribblers and wall constructors, supposing they claim no other designation."

A long description of the architectural features, in technical terms, follows the above, and the comment is directed to the interior of the church in an article in the same magazine of 1819, p. 519:—

"A lamentable falling off in regard to architectural gratification from what the exterior so highly raised expectation of, by a progressive ratio of increasing embellishments; but we are told from the tradition of the place that a fire destroyed all St. John's internal performances; this may be credited, as what little is bestowed is of the meagre parsimonious parish cast, consisting chiefly of pews and galleries to answer the usual purposes,—conveniency, remuneration, and profit. However, as the conflagration did not affect the walls, their heights are maintained by Corinthian pilasters set at first against the piers between the windows. Their effect is certainly noble. Here all praise is closed, and in reluctant train we thus proceed. Door-ways and windows plain, pews and galleries in plain pannel work, the latter supported by extreme slender Corinthian fluted columns; organ-case of the usual large unnecessary dimension, hiding west window, and of the usual cast; pulpit hexangular, rather enriched, and with the reading-desks turned, according to present mode, direct against the altar, which altar is of the commonest degree."

Bohn, in his very independent *Pictorial Handbook of London*, notices the church:—

"The visitor should not neglect the exterior (only, for the interior is excessively poor) of St. John's, Westminster, which is noble in its general form and arrangement, though disfigured in the detail by conceits more false and corrupt than this country ever saw before or since, till within the last few years. The criticism copied into every account of this church, we believe since its erection, is a capital instance of what, in England, passes for taste. It has been the fashion to say nothing of its abominable details, but object to its really fine form, as 'resembling a parlour table upset, with its legs in the air.' The resemblance consists in having four summits.—'There is a river in

Macedon ; and there is moreover a river at Monmouth'—there are four legs to a table, and four turrets to St. John's ; but further from this we cannot conceive what inverted table could bear the most distant likeness to this building (though most modern tables would certainly very closely represent the cornice, parapet, and pinnacles of the stereotyped Anglo-Gothic church-tower ; but of this resemblance we hear nothing). As for the *principle* of the objection, it is obvious that, if it be worth anything, St. Paul's and all domes must be at once condemned as resembling inverted basins ; all the Gothic spires, as resembling extinguishers ; all columns, as resembling posts ; and in short, all straight-lined objects must be banished for resemblance to furniture, and all carved ones for resemblance to pottery. Even if those forms only which other arts have borrowed from architecture are to be forthwith abandoned by her (as fashionables abandon a garb when it has descended to the vulgar), what refuge remains ? and what becomes of *truth* in design if *novelty* is to be the main object ? Meanwhile, the result of a total absence of real criticism is that the richest city in the world erects and (what is worse) *boasts of*, such works as the Coal Exchange."

Yet another opinion is offered in Knight's *London* (1843) :—

"Archer's well known production is St. John's Church, Westminster, finished in 1728 ; and which if it were possible to designate by any single phrase it must be some such as—Architecture run mad. If one could imagine a collection of all the ordinary materials of a church in the last century, with an extraordinary profusion of decoration of porticoes and of towers, to have suddenly dropt down from the skies, and by some freak of Nature to have fallen into a kind of order and harmony and fantastic grandeur,—the four towers at the angles, the porticoes at the ends and in the front,—it would give no very exaggerated idea of St. John's. Vanbrugh, says Pennant, had the discredit of the pile."

Peter Cunningham, in his *Hand-book for London, Past and Present* (1849), quotes* from *Walpole's Anecdotes* :—

"St. Philip's Church, Birmingham, and a house at Roehampton (which, as a specimen of his wretched taste, may be seen in the 'Vitruvius Britannicus') were other works of the same person ; but the chef d'œuvre of his absurdity was the Church of St. John's, with four belfreys, in Westminster."

In a footnote it is stated that—

"Mr. Archer's design of the Church, as it was agreed upon by the Commissioners, is a very different design from the existing Church. Many alterations were subsequently made without the knowledge or consent of the architect."

* P. 446. The date of the consecration is erroneously given as 1738.

Mr. Walcott, in his *Memorials of Westminster*, p. 312, (1849), alluding to the architecture of the church, says :—

“When we call to mind the upper part of the western towers of the Abbey, and the mutilated exterior of St. Margaret’s—the deformities of the last anti-Gothic century—it would seem as though the ancient architects, having completed their own beautiful work, broke the mould. We, therefore, can only rejoice that an exotic architecture—then studied and in vogue—was adopted in building St. John’s, in preference to a motley mimicry of that native but dormant style—the Pointed—which is more strictly ecclesiastical.”

Readers of *Our Mutual Friend* (Book II., chap. 1) will recollect the impression the mind of Charles Dickens received from the church and its immediate surroundings :

“Bradley Headstone and Charley Hexam duly got to the Surrey side of Westminster Bridge, and crossed the bridge, and made along the Middlesex shore towards Millbank. In this region are a certain little street, called Church Street, and a certain little blind square, called Smith Square, in the centre of which last retreat is a very hideous church with four towers at the four corners, generally resembling some petrified monster, frightful and gigantic, on its back with its legs in the air. They found a tree near by in a corner, and a blacksmith’s forge, and a timber yard, and a dealer’s in old iron. What a rusty portion of a boiler and a great iron wheel or so meant by lying half-buried in a dealer’s fore-court, nobody seemed to know, or want to know. Like the Miller of questionable jollity in the song, They cared for Nobody, no not they, and Nobody cared for them.

After making the round of this place, and noting that there was a deadly kind of repose on it, more as though it had taken laudanum than fallen into a natural rest, they stopped at the point where the street and the square joined, and where there were some little quiet houses in a row.”

It was in one of these small houses that—

MISS JENNY WREN,
DOLLS’ DRESSMAKER.

—
Dolls attended at their own residences.

otherwise Fanny Cleaver, who befriended Lizzie Hexam after her father’s death, had her fictional abode.

Mr. J. Heneage Jesse, in *Memorials of London* (1847), remarks that :—

“Near the south end of College Street is the fantastic-looking church

of St. John the Evangelist, with its four pinnacles, one at each corner, which form such prominent objects from the different points of the metropolis at which they are visible. This church, the work of Sir John Vanbrugh, was commenced in 1721, and completed in 1728. I cannot discover that any particular interest attaches to it. It has been much censured for its excess of ornament, but it is not altogether destitute of architectural beauty, and the portico, supported by Doric columns, has been deservedly admired."

In *London ; its Celebrated Characters and Remarkable Places* (1871), this author corrects his "Memorials" by observing that Sir John Vanbrugh "usually had the discredit" for the building; "but the real architect was a person by the name of Archer." He does not appear to have noticed that his contemporaries have set down the four foremost architects of the time as Vanbrugh, Archer, James, and Flitcroft.

A still more recent writer, Mr. A. J. C. Hare, author of *Walks in London* (1878), in his allusion to Westminster, goes on to say :—

"In the poverty-stricken quarter, not far from the river, is St John's Church, the second of Queen Anne's fifty churches, built from designs of Archer, a pupil of Vanbrugh. . . Lord Chesterfield compared it to an elephant on its back, with its four feet in the air. The effect at a distance is miserable, but the details are good when you approach them."

Admirers of the characteristic romances of Lord Beaconsfield ("one of the few, the immortal names that were not born to die") will recollect how intimately the great statesman and author had become acquainted in his later writings with the Church, the Rectory House, and the surroundings. In his *Sybil, or the Two Nations*—the work which is prefaced by his beautiful inscription to Lady Beaconsfield—he makes repeated reference to them.

For our present purpose we turn to the chapter in which Egremont, having met Sybil in the Abbey, accompanies her home to the Rectory House. "Making a circuitous course through this tranquil and orderly district, they at last found themselves in an open place, in the centre of

which rose a church of vast proportions, and built of hewn stone in that stately, not to say ponderous, style which Vanbrugh introduced."

Mr. Walford, in his *Old and New London*, speaks of the church as "a singular building which a stranger would never be likely to take for a church. . . . Its architect certainly seems to have defied all the rules of architecture, loading the heavy structure with still heavier ornamentation, by building at each of the four angles a stone tower and a pinnacle of ugliness that passes description." The same author quotes from *A New Review of the Public Buildings* (1736) that "the new church with the four towers at Westminster is an ornament to the city," and states that the writer of the article "deeply regrets that a vista was not formed from Old Palace Yard so as to bring its beauty fairly into view."

The description of the Church and its vicinity by Dickens in *Our Mutual Friend*, which has already been given, is thus reviewed by Mr. Alfred Rimmer in his *About England with Dickens* (1883):—

"In this region are a certain little street called Church Street, and a certain little blind square called Smith Square, in the centre of which last retreat is a very hideous church, with four towers at the four corners, generally resembling some petrified monster, frightful and gigantic, on its back with its feet in the air." This is the description of St. John the Evangelist, a church that occupies all the centre part of Smith Square. Yet the church was the work of an architect who enjoyed great honour in his day, and whose designs figure worthily among stately elms in some of the most beautiful parts of England. By some strange mutation in affairs the architecture that exercised Dickens is again coming in vogue, and the Church of St. John the Evangelist is greatly admired by architects and artists. A happy issue even this is; out of the iconoclastic spirit that has within the last half century destroyed the interest and beauty of some—it is supposed nearly eighty per cent.—of the parish churches of England. The quaint high pews that are now so prized among artists and antiquarians, and that are unhappily becoming so rare, were of the date of this church; and the details of the church itself are chaste and good. Probably the revived interest in this style may preserve the remnant that remains of our old parish churches; they are nearly all destroyed, but some portion may escape."

With the judgment of one other author, the reader will have sufficient diversity of opinion to enable him to determine the true architectural merits of the building. This last extract is from *A History of London*, by W. J. Loftie, 1883, and shows that the different views so freely expressed more than a century ago are as widely estranged as ever:—

“The last parish formally separated from St. Margaret’s was St. John’s, Westminster. Its church is by Vanbrugh’s pupil, Archer, and is in a most eccentric style. It resembles, according to one author,* ‘a parlour table upset, with its legs in the air.’ . . . Archer built Cliefden, a handsome pile, and one or two other great houses; but his designs, some of which were engraved in the ‘*Vitruvius Britannicus*,’ do not entitle him to further notice. The parish is very densely populated, and has several district churches; but the visitor who seeks for anything of interest in it, will probably be disappointed. . . . The epitaph on a lady in Fulham Churchyard will apply:—

‘Silence is best.’”

We now leave the survey of the exterior for a time to take a general view of the interior as it was restored after the fire. All the “ornaments” were replaced, including the sounding board, which was increased twelve inches in diameter “to try whether it will help the voice from the pulpit.” For the first twenty years the services of the Church were led by the hautboy, the fiddle, the flute, and the bass-viol, or were—

“Left to the singing singers
With vocal voices most vociferous
In sweet vociferation, to out-vociferise
Ev’n sound itself.”—

(CAREY.)

unaided by instrumental music. In October, 1749, the Vestry resolved “that it is proper to have an organ.” A fortnight later Henry Porter submitted a proposal to provide and erect a “great organ” with twenty stops, without any expense to the parish, and to cause it to be played in a proper manner during the lifetime of his wife and sister, on condition that £30 per annum be paid during their respective lives. In consequence of an objection by Sir John

* Cunningham. Handbook for London; Past and Present, p. 446.

Crosse and Sir Robert Grosvenor, the matter stood in abeyance for twelve months, at the expiration of which it was agreed to on the understanding that the organ should be of the minimum value of £300 in the opinion of two experts. On 24 September, 1751, these experts, Mr. Robinson and Mr. Kelway, certified the completion of the instrument in accordance with the agreement. Twenty years' wear brought complaints of the condition of the organ, which was described as being "very foul and much out of repair; it was so full of dust that it was impossible for the pipes to speak." A thorough repair was consequently carried out, and the annuity of £30 was continued until the decease of Mrs. Porter in 1793. Mr. Zinzan, Junr., of Brentford, was thereupon appointed organist at £20 per annum; but after occupying the position for fifteen years, in which the duties had been performed by deputy, this gentleman was called upon to answer complaints of the inefficient services so rendered. He immediately undertook to attend personally for a month and to find a more competent substitute or to relinquish his office "in consequence of his residing at Brentford, and of his numerous other avocations." Mr. Zinzan's salary was shortly afterwards increased to £30, and he continued in office until his death, which occurred in 1824.* Henry Boys was then appointed to the position.

In 1819 the organ was again repaired and improved at a cost of £180, which was defrayed out of the church rate; in March, 1841, £112 were expended upon further repairs, and in 1890 the expense of similar work, amounting to £165 was raised by public subscription.

Before leaving the west gallery, in which the organ was placed, we may mention that the congregation had so overgrown the accommodation in 1756 that, in order to provide additional seats, galleries were constructed along the north

* In *Pietas Londinensis*, 1714, "Mr. Nicolas Zinzan" is named as the Rector of St. Martin Outwich and Lecturer of St. Mary Magdalene, Old Fish Street. There is a headstone to the memory of several persons named Zinzan in Hanwell Churchyard,

and south sides at a cost of £400. This sum was raised by appropriating part of the bequest of Richard Farwell, and by a gift of £100 by Sir John Crosse, then member of Parliament for Westminster. A further extension of the seating was made in 1808, when a gallery for "the charity children" was constructed on each side of the organ at a cost of £100.

The south-west pinnacle, which replaced that destroyed in the fire of 1742, was again placed in jeopardy on the morning of 18th October, 1773, when a violent storm broke out over the centre of the parish.—

"Then sudden, through the darkened air,
A flash of lightning came ;
So broad, so bright, so red the glare,
The tower seemed on flame."

SCOTT.

Damage was also sustained by that part of the roof immediately contiguous, a committee of the Vestry being instantly empowered to carry out the repairs.

Seventy years having elapsed since the restoration of the church, the necessity for a general repair of the interior and exterior now pressed itself upon the attention of the Vestry. A survey made in the autumn of 1812 led to a report that the roof, "tye beams," and towers were decayed and dangerous, and that the work required to be executed would cost £8,500. The aid of Parliament was solicited towards raising the sum; but this having failed, two eminent counsel were called in to advise upon the legality of levying a church rate to raise the funds. A proposal made at a joint meeting of the two Vestries, to levy a rate of eighteenpence in the pound, was rejected by the Chairman. An application to the Court of King's Bench for a *mandamus* followed, and a rate of eightpence was in October, 1815, levied upon the two parishes for the repair of the Church. The improvements were then proceeded with so far as the funds permitted; but increasing demands for seats revived the question, and led to a re-arrangement of the pews, and to the general completion of the repairs in 1824-5. The

outlay on this occasion was £4,280, of which £580 was for heating apparatus, and £450 for "new flooring under the pews." The alterations are thus described in a letter to the *London Magazine* of January, 1826:—

"Since I last addressed you on the subject of Westminster Improvements numerous others have taken place.

The population of the parish of St. John the Evangelist having materially increased of late years, the Church became insufficient to accommodate the parishioners. The Select Vestry of the parish, anticipating that they should be under the necessity of erecting a New Church, or of re-modelling and repairing the present magnificent one (the most expensive built in the reign of Queen Anne); and considering the expense that would attend the erection of a new Church and establishment, and their inadequate means of sustaining the same, resolved to adopt the latter course. Plans and specifications were accordingly made by W. Inwood, Esq., and put to competition about the middle of June, 1825, when Mr. James Firth, builder to his Majesty, was chosen to perform the necessary alterations. The principal objects were to increase the accommodation for the poor, give extra light to the body of the Church, properly to warm the same in winter, and to admit a change of air in the summer seasons. Previous to these alterations the Church would not contain more than 1,200 persons, including about 50 free sittings; but at present accommodation is afforded for about 1,800, including about 500 free sittings.

These repairs I will now endeavour to describe, first examining the

EXTERIOR.

Under the north and south porticoes new square headed door-ways have been opened to the western towers. Their uprights have but three members in the capital: in this respect differing from the uprights of the door-ways in the centre, which are capped by four mouldings; and again differing from the door to the corresponding tower on the east side, which is destitute of either capitals or plinths.

At the east end the parallelogram, windows collateral with the semi-circular headed windows, have been blocked up with stone, and two additional semi-circular headed windows have been introduced on the north and south sides of the chancel, and glazed with ground and stained glass.

The alterations, additions, and improvements in the

INTERIOR

are so conspicuous, that many parishioners can scarcely recognise their original place of worship. The pews which were formerly of different lengths and widths, have been entirely taken down; several hundred loads of rubbish, caused by the fire which destroyed the interior of the Church about 80 years ago, removed from under the same, to admit a free circulation of the air; and four double rows of

air-flues built to heat and ventilate the Church. New floor and joists were put all over the ground plan, and the pews refixed, leaving a spacious nave, and the western portion of the aisles for free sittings. All the projecting seats and pilasters are cleared away to widen the aisles.

From the boss in the centre (which is superior to almost any other of the kind, being about 18 feet in diameter and pendent from the ceiling about 5 feet from the centre) was formerly suspended a brass chandelier.

There is now no entrance to the galleries from the interior of the Church; the places where they stood being converted, the one on the north-west corner to the christening-pew, and the other on the opposite angle, into free sittings. The font, removed from a pew (the site of which is now occupied by that for the Churchwardens on the north-west corner of the nave) is railed in from the sponsor's pew.

The furnaces to warm the church are erected in the crypt, according to Mr. Silvester's plan.

Vestry-room provided with a large closet with iron doors.

The alterations in the Chancel or Sacrarium are very conspicuous. The two parallelogram windows on each side of the painted window have been blocked up, and a new semi-circular headed window, with handsome architraves, ornamented with roses, introduced on each return wall. To furnish room for these windows, two beautiful mural monuments were removed to the galleries. The centre window represents our Saviour bearing the Cross, supported on his right by St. John the Evangelist, and on his left by St. Paul. It was presented to the parish by T. Green, Esq., of Millbank-row. The upper compartment has been replaced by dark clouds, with the descending dove, surrounded by glory. The beautiful architrave of this window is copied from one in the Temple of Jupiter Stator at Rome. . . . Around the semi-circular head is a range of cherubim, cast from the beautiful sculptured ones on a monument in the neighbouring parish church of St. Margaret.

These alterations having been completed, the Church was opened December 18 with a sermon preached by the Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster, in support of the fund for rebuilding Westminster Hospital. A sum, amounting to about 45*l*., was collected after the sermon."

The iron railings and gates enclosing the steps at the north and south entrances, were supplied and fixed by Messrs. Burt, at a cost of £202, in 1828.

Notwithstanding the large expenditure on the works carried out in 1815-16 and 1824-5, the Church appears to have fallen into a deplorably dirty condition in 1841, when

the Archdeacon called attention to the necessity of a thorough cleaning. No improvement having taken place, Archdeacon Sinclair wrote to the Churchwardens in 1844, referring to the appeals made by his predecessors, Archdeacon Hale and the Bishop of Lichfield, remarking that "the interior is as much in need of being cleaned as that of any church I remember to have seen," and calling upon them to restore "the sacred edifice to a state more worthy of its holy purpose, and more suitable to the respectability of the parish." The Churchwardens having taken the Vestry into council, the latter attributed the delay to the fact that they had no power to make a church rate without the co-operation of their brethren of St. Margaret's; but the Archdeacon having sent a further remonstrance in January, 1845, negotiations took place between the two Vestries, which resulted in a church rate of 3d. in the £ being levied to raise £2,100, apportioned as to £1,400 on St. Margaret's and as to £700 on St. John's. In October, 1846, a letter from Archdeacon Sinclair was read in which he expressed his satisfaction at the manner in which the work had been executed. In April, 1864, £1,000 were drawn from the parish purse to pay for cleaning and painting the interior, on which also, including the modernising of the seats, upwards of £1,000 were expended in 1884-5, the sum being raised by a public subscription. Happily there is no ground for complaint of the use of churchwarden's whitewash in all these repeated re-decorations—in this respect "old times are changed, old manners gone."

We may now turn aside into the Vestry and examine the church plate, carefully kept in the iron closet. According to an inventory entered upon the Vestry Minutes in 1770, it was valued at £128 18s. 5½d., and consisted of:—

		oz.	dwt.
One silver cup, gilt	... weighing	22	11
One silver salver to ditto	... „	9	7
One other silver cup, gilt	... „	22	6

		oz.	DWTS
One silver cover to ditto	... weighing	8	5
One silver chalice, gilt	...	61	8
One other silver chalice, gilt	...	62	11
One large silver dish, gilt	...	5	10
One small salver, gilt	...	18	18
One silver handle knife, gilt	...	—	—
One silver spoon, gilt	...	—	—
One silver chalice and cover, for private sacraments	... „	—	—

This plate was annually transferred to the custody of the Churchwardens upon their appointment, and in 1788 was insured against burglaries in the sum of £100. The custodians were at the same time requested to make the doors secure, and “to discover offenders and bring them to justice,” from which may be inferred that an attempt at purloining the silver had been made. In a return prepared by the Churchwardens in 1889, the church plate, ornaments, furniture, etc., are thus specified:—

SCHEDULE of PLATE, BELLS, ORGAN, FURNITURE, LINEN, COVERINGS for the LORD'S TABLE, etc., and DECORATIONS, PAINTED WINDOWS, and PICTURES belonging to the CHURCH of ST. JOHN the EVANGELIST, WESTMINSTER, made by order of the BISHOP of the DIOCESE, 29th September, 1889.

Revised 28th June, 1892.

I. COMMUNION PLATE.

(a) Two Chalices, silver gilt.

Height, 10 inches; diameter of bowl, $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches; diameter of foot, 4 inches; Inscriptions: “*The gift of Sir Richard Grosvenor and Sir Thomas Crosse, Baronet, the two first Churchwardens of this Parish.*” Coats of Arms of the donors. Date, 1731. Weights,* 22 oz. 8 dwts. and 22 oz. 3 dwts. respectively.

(b) Two Patens, silver gilt.

Diameter, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches; diameter of foot, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Weights, 8 oz. 3 dwts. and 9 oz. 6 dwts. respectively. Inscription as above, with coats of arms of donors. Date, 1731

(c) Two Flagon, silver gilt.

Height, $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches; diameter at foot, $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Same inscription and coats of arms as above. Date, 1731. Weights, 62 oz. 11 dwts. and 61 oz. 8 dwts. respectively.

* These weights have been very kindly verified by Mr. Thomas Scudamore, of Great Chapel-street.

- (d) Two Alms Basons, silver gilt.

One $1\frac{7}{8}$ inches in diameter, weighing 52 oz. 10 dwts.

One $9\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter, weighing 18 oz. 16 dwts.

Same inscription, coats of arms, and date as above.

- (e) Two Alms Basons, silver gilt.

Diameter, $13\frac{7}{8}$ inches ; weights, 45 oz. 10 dwts., and 45 oz. 3 dwts. respectively ; Date, 1784. Inscriptions : "*The gift of Mrs. Mary Pacey to the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster, by Richard Pearce, Esq., her Executor, Ann: Dom: 1784.*

The Rev^d. Robert Poole Finch, D.D., Rector.,
Morris Marsault, } Churchwardens."
George Graves,

- (f) Two Alms Basons, copper gilt. Diameter, 13 inches ; no inscription.

- (g) One small Chalice, silver gilt. Height, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter of bowl, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches ; diameter of foot, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches ; Inscription : "*The gift of Mr. Joseph Harding, Gent: to ye Church of St. John ye Evangelist, Westr.*" Coat of arms of the donor. Weight, 5 oz. 15 dwts.

One small Paten, silver gilt. Diameter, 3 inches ; diameter of foot, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches ; weight, 2 oz. 18 dwts. Same inscription as above, with Crest.

- (h) Two Chalices, silver, modern. Height, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; diameter, $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches ; diameter of base, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches weights, 16 oz. 8 dwts. and 15 oz. 14 dwts. respectively ; no inscription.

Two Patens, silver, modern. Diameter, $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Inscriptions : "*To the Glory of God. In memory of Lionel Charles Thynne.*" "*Christus vita non lucrum.*" Weights, 5 oz. 19 dwts. and 5 oz. 18 dwts. respectively.

- (i) One knife—silver handle. One spoon, silver, perforated Weight, 2 oz. 2 dwts. ; no inscription, but bearing the crests of Sir Richard Grosvenor and Sir Thomas Crosse.

- (j) Two glass Cruets.

-
2. FONT.—White statuary marble with carved angels at the four corners. No cover.

(See page 59.)

-
3. BELLS.—Five Bells in all. Three in one turret for the Clock. Two in one turret for Church use.

-
4. ORGAN.—Three manuels—work by Father Schmidt and Avery ; added to by Hill.

(See page 48.)

5. FURNITURE.

Two moveable Chairs used for Sedilia ; Lectern ; Pulpit ; Faldstool ; Altar ; Credence Table ; brass Altar Cross ; two large brass Candlesticks ; two small brass Candelabra ; four brass Flower Vases ; one Processional Cross ; one Altar Desk, brass ; two brass Brackets for the Pulpit ; one Verger's Staff, silver head, inscription : "*St. John the Evangelist, Westminster, 1789.*"

Jno. Groves,
Robert Clarke, } *Churchwardens."*

6. ALTAR CLOTHS.

Two white, embroidered silk. One red, embroidered silk and velvet. One purple, with white orphreys. Three sets Sanctuary hangings, white, red, purple. One set Curtains. Two Funeral Palls, one purple and white for adults ; one white for infants. One Press for Altar Cloths, etc.

7. LINEN.

Altar cloths ; corporals ; chalice veils ; palls.

8. DECORATIONS—no sculptures or other decorations.

9. WINDOWS. Three stained glass windows. (*See pages 58 and 59.*)

10. PICTURES.

One as an Altar piece. (*See page 58.*)

One in the Vestry. (*See page 33.*)

The curious and interesting piece of parish plate, commonly known as the "St. John's Snuff-box," which is also deposited in the iron closet in the Vestry, is described in the section assigned to the notice of the Churchwardens, to whom the box belongs.

The registers, through which we take a hurried glance before quitting the Vestry Room, contain none of the curious notes and memoranda to be found in those of parishes of earlier date ; indeed there is little worthy of notice besides the instances of longevity in the burial registers to which reference is made in Chapter V., and the following which, leave scope, however, for speculation as to why they should find a place among the burials :—

"The recantation of Margaret Starling, on Thursday, Jan. 6, 1774, the Feast of the Epiphany.

I, Margaret Starling, wife of William Starling, of the parish of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster, having been brought up and educated in the principles of the Church of Rome, upon

serious consideration and real conviction of mind, do now in the presence of God and this congregation, renounce the errors of that Church, and embrace the Protestant religion as by law established in this kingdom called England.

Thomas Bennett, Curate and Lecturer.
Joshua Fleetwood, (Lay Clerk.)
Ann Roberts, (Vestry Woman.)
Richard Sharp. *Ann Sharp.*

"August 13, 1851. The Recantation of Timothy Downey and Bridget Downey, his wife, in the Church of St. John the Evangelist, at six o'clock in the evening on the above day.

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

We, Timothy Downey and Bridget Downey, husband and wife, having been brought up and educated in the principles of the Church of Rome, upon serious consideration and real conviction of mind, do now in the presence of God and of this congregation utterly renounce the doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning Purgatory, Pardons, worshipping and adoration as well of Images as of Reliques, and also Invocation of Saints, and all other erroneous doctrines and superstitions, usages of the said Church, grounded upon no warrant of Scripture and repugnant to the same, and embrace the Faith of the Church of England, as now by law established, and we believe the Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies of the Church of England to be founded on the Scriptures and to contain all doctrines necessary to salvation.

(Signed) *Timy. Downey, B. Downey.*

(Signed) *John Jennings, Rector.*

Witnesses { (Signed) *James Jenner*
 " *Elizabeth Hannah Berwick.*

The frequency with which the baptism of coloured people took place in the middle of the last century, suggests a watchful interest on the part of heads of households in the welfare of their negroes, and reminds us that the possession of a black servant was one of the fashions of the day. The following are transcribed as a specimen of the entries to be met with :—

- 1730. 2 April. John Chaffinch, a Blackamoor, 16 years of age,
baptized by Mr. Moore. No money.
- 1731. Oct. 11. Sanders Dover, a Blackamoore boy, aged 13.
- 1733. Jan. 10. John Brown, a Blackamore.
- 1760. 5 Sept. John James, an adult black.
- 1772. Feb. 5. Andrew Clarke, a Mulatto of riper years.

1773. Aug. 23. Andrew Jones, an adult Blackmoor.

1773. Sept. 1. John Johnson, an adult Blackmoor. Sarah Johnson, an adult Blackmoor.

1786. Feb. 10. James Murray Clans, an adult Blackmoor.

Returning from the Vestry Room to the interior of the Church, the east window first attracts our attention. It consists of three lights, the central one of which is a representation in stained glass of our Lord bearing His Cross. One of the side lights contains the figure of St. John the Evangelist, the other that of St. Paul. Mr. Walcott states that the central figure "is said to have been brought from some ancient Church in Rouen," and a loose paper, inserted in the Vestry minute book for 1818, bears the inscription, "this figure was formerly in one of the windows of the Great Church in Rouen." The figure of St. John the Evangelist was presented by Mr. Thomas Green in April, 1813; that of St. Paul was given by the same gentleman in 1818; and that of our Lord was purchased by the Vestry for £52 in June of the same year through Mr. Green's instrumentality. The list of Benefactions states that the two figures given by Mr. Green came from "the Old Church at Rouen." From this, together with the artistic resemblance, it may not be improbable that all three parts of the window were brought from Normandy. The window was formed and completed at the expense of the Church funds in 1818.

In February, 1827, Mr. Simon Stephenson, solicitor and vestry clerk to the Joint Vestries of St. Margaret and St. John, presented a valuable painting as an Altar-piece. Mr. Walcott says that this work "although attributed to Morales, is more likely to have been the work of Francisco Ribalta, a Spanish artist, born in 1551." Mr. Stephenson's letter to the Vestry, which must have escaped Mr. Walcott's notice, leaves no doubt as to the facts:—

GREAT QUEEN STREET,
7th February, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—As there will be a Meeting of the Vestry of your parish to-morrow, I have taken the liberty of sending to the Vestry Room a copy which I have caused to be made, of the

admired painting by Murillo, of Christ bearing the Cross, which decorates the Altar of Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford. It has been executed by Mr. John Bridges, of that city, an artist of acknowledged merit.

If the gentlemen of the Vestry should deem it worthy to supply the want of a painting at the Altar of their beautiful Church, I beg the favour of you to present it to them for their acceptance, as a small token of my respect, and an acknowledgment of the distinguished kindness I have invariably experienced from them.

I have the honour to remain, &c.,

(Signed) SIM^N. STEPHENSON.

CHARLES W. HALLETT, ESQ.,

Churchwarden of St. John's.

The Rector, the Rev. H. Holland Edwards, then residing at Llanwrst, in North Wales, was consulted before the Vestry accepted the gift; but not having replied to the letter, the Vestry passed a profuse resolution of thanks to the donor for his splendid addition to the embellishments of the Church, expressive of their high admiration of the talent of the artist and the taste of his patron, and appointed a Committee to wait upon Mr. Stephenson "to mark in an especial manner the feelings of the Vestry on the occasion." The picture, which is concealed by the draping of the Altar during certain of the Church Festivals, was hung under the personal supervision of the artist.

On the north and south sides of the chancel are two stained glass windows which can only be seen from the interior of the Church by approaching the altar rail. These were given by Mr. (afterwards Sir) H. A. Hunt and his brother in memory of their parents. Mr. Hunt also presented the very elegant font and the rails enclosing it. It was erected in 1847 from a design by Mr. Charles Barry, junior. The carving was the work of the celebrated John Thomas, of Lambeth, the sculptor to the House of Commons, and the artist of the lions at the Menai Bridge. The font is 3 feet 10 inches high, 3 feet 2 inches in diameter at the top, and is of solid white statuary marble, standing on a step of Anstone. The pedestal supporting the bowl is fluted, and rises from a plinth of Sicilian marble. At the four corners

of the bowl are winged demi-angels, with their arms crossed upon their breasts or their hands joined in prayer, and the rim is ornamented by a leaf moulding.

Having already noticed the organ in the west gallery and the circumstances under which it was built (*see p. 48*), we return to the east end of the south aisle to commence a survey of the monuments, and to note the inscriptions thereon.—

MONUMENTS.

In the South Aisle, East end.

- *1. "DAVID GREEN, Esq., forty years an inhabitant of this parish ; during which period he served various parochial offices, and was a liberal contributor to the several charities. An affectionate husband, a tender father, and a faithful friend. He departed this life the 5th day of February, 1837, aged 73."

Memento homo quia cinis es.

[A marble tablet on a slate slab, Poole, fecit].

- *2. "JOSEPH BENNETT, for thirty-six years an inhabitant of this parish, who departed this life October 30th, 1841, aged 60 years."

[A marble tablet on a slate slab, Patent Works, Esher-street, Westmr.]

3. "In the churchyard of this parish is laid all that was mortal of of JANE, wife of the Rev^d. JOHN JENNINGS, M.A., the rector of this parish, who died September 20th, 1833. Through the merits and mercies of her Blessed Redeemer she waits in hope of a joyful resurrection."

[A small brass on a slate slab.]

- *4. "STEPHEN COSSER, Esq., one of the Justices of the Peace and a Deputy Lieutenant of the County of Middlesex ; whose life was as distinguished by the confidence, as his death by the regrets of his friends ; and whose private virtues, alas ! will be feelingly recollected, though inadequately recorded on this mute tribute of Gratitude. Born at Edinburgh, 2nd Febr., 1754. Buried at Chichester, 2nd July, 1806."

[A fine marble tablet, ornamented with fasces encircled by a wreath of oak-leaves, and by the Arms of the deceased—1. *Or* ; between three horses' heads *sable*, on a chevron, three mullets *or* 2. Party per pale. *Gules* ; between three crosses fitchées, a chevron *argent*. *Or* ; three estoilles issuant from crescents *gules*.—Westmacott, junr., fecit.]

5. "Erected by many attached friends in affectionate Remembrance of SUSAN O'BRIEN SMITH, who died 24 February, 1879, and of LOUISA STONE SMITH, who died 5 June, 1879, beloved daughters of HENRY STONE SMITH."

"Fellow helpers to the truth."

[Recessed brass tablet within carved arch.]

6. "HENRY STONE SMITH, only son of Capt. John Langdale Smith, R.N., and SARAH, his wife. For 86 years an inhabitant of this parish, born 1795, died 1881. He was for 34 years Chief Clerk of the Parliament Office, House of Lords, having spent 63 years in the Public Service. He lived in honour and he died in peace. Erected by his surviving daughters and grand-daughters."

[Recessed marble tablet within carved arch identical in form with No. 5.]

At the West end.

7. THE VEN. JOHN JENNINGS, M.A., Archdeacon of Westminster for fifty-one years rector of this parish. Died March 26th, 1883, in the 85th year of his age.

[A fine marble monument with a faithful and well executed bust of the Archdeacon in *basso relievo*.—R. Belt, Sc.]

In the North Aisle, West end.

- *8. GEORGE HENRY WILLIAM KNYVETT, youngest son of Charles Knyvett, Esqre, of Sonning, Berks. During the last three years of his life, he was resident in this parish, where the efforts of his fervent charity, and of his unwearied devotion of time and labour to the cause of religion, will long survive him. He died on the 27th November, 1840, in the 28th year of his age, to the great grief of his family, and of the many attached friends, who have dedicated this humble tribute to his memory.

[An elegant marble monument ornamented with a *relievo* of his likeness.]

In the North Aisle, East end.

10. "LEWIS HERTSLET, for 58 years a resident in this parish. Died 15 March, 1870, aged 82. MARY SPENCER HERTSLET, his beloved wife, Died 14 Feb., 1871, aged 61.

[Recessed marble tablet.]

And on a small tablet below—

HANNAH HARRIET JEMIMA HERTSLET, first wife of the above, died 23rd August, 1828.

11. "JOHN MORRIS, Esq., of this parish, whose worth and integrity secured for him the appointment of chief clerk under six successive Lord Chief Barons of the Court of Exchequer, at Westminster. He died February, 3rd, 1850, aged 86 years, universally respected and regretted."

[Marble tablet on wood—H. Cuttill, Holloway.]

12. "By his pupils and fellow teachers in the Sunday School this tablet is erected as a humble tribute of respect and affection to the memory of ROBERT HALL, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Recorder of Doncaster, Member of Parliament for the Borough of Leeds, and for 20 years a teacher in the Tufton-street Sunday School. Born 15th November, 1801. Died 26th May, 1857."

"*Not slothful in business; fervent in spirit, serving the Lord.*"—

Rom. XII., 2,

- *13. "GEORGE TATTON, late of this parish. Died 7th July, 1838, aged 85; also Mrs. Elizabeth Tatton, died Jany. 17, 1854, aged 91.

[Marble tablet on a slate slab, identical in form with No. 15—J. Gibbs, Millbank-st.]

- *14. "Mr. JOHN BACCHUS and his family late of this parish, who hath given and left in trust with the Churchwardens undernamed Four hundred pounds Three per cent. Consolidated Annuities, the Interest arising therefrom is to keep this inscription and the tomb of the family which is in the Burying Ground of this Church in Repair when needful, and when Repairs are not wanting the whole Interest arising from the same is to be given to Ten Poor Housekeepers of this parish of St. John the Evangelist by the Church Wardens for the Time being, and at their discretion upon every Christmas Day.

Willm. Barret, Esq., }
John Williams, } Church Wardens, 1777.

[A plain marble tablet.]

- *15. "Mrs. ELIZABETH MARY HAWKES, wife of Mr. Richard Parker Tillotson, and daughter of George and Elizabeth Tatton, late of this parish. Died 29 September, 1827, aged 47.

16. "RICHARD FOOT, of Parliament Place, in this parish, died 2 January, 1817, aged 71; also MARY, relict of the above, died 8th August, 1834, aged 84; also RICHARD, died 27th June, 1818, aged 4 months; ELLEN, died 10th October, 1834, aged 5, children of John and Charlotte Foot, and grand-children of the above.

- *17. "JOSEPH WOOD, for thirty-six years an inhabitant of this parish, died 28th day of June, 1828, at his residence, St. Michael's Terrace, Stoke, Devon, aged 62 years." (*Then follows an eulogistic inscription.*)

[Freestone tablet by R. Johnson.]

In the South Gallery.

- *18. "Mr. HALL WAKE, late of Millbank-street, stone and marble merchant, who was many years a select vestryman of this parish and by the courtesy of his neighbours was successfully nominated and appointed to execute all the various parochial commissions and offices. Died 17 day of July, 1827, aged 59 years.

[A heavy stone monument, with a draped urn on truncated column.—Wood, sculp., Bristol.]

- *19. RICHARD FARWELL, esquire, a Native of this City, a sincere Christian, a worthy Magistrate, a true Friend, especially to our happy Constitution in Church and State. His remains are deposited in St. Margaret's Church, to which Parish and to this

also He was both living and dying very Beneficent. In respect to his Memory this Monument is put up. But his good Works will more certainly perpetuate the Name of so pious a man. Ob. 25 Feb., 1747. Æt. 70.

[A large monument, with a draped urn and weeping cherub. Walcott mentions the Arms—"Sable ; between three cockle-shells *argent*, a chevron enrailed of the second"—but this ornamentation, which was no doubt only painted on the marble escutcheon, has disappeared].

20. EDWARD HARRAGE, born 18th October, 1798, died 25 June, 1861.
[A brass mural plate].

In the North Gallery.

- *21. JANE SHEPPARD, died 19th August, 1844, aged 41 years.

- *22. VIRO REVERENDO ROBERTO POOL FINCH, S.T.P., Ecclesiæ Divi. Petri Collegii Westmonasteriensis Canonico, hujus Parochiæ Pastori fidissimo, sacrum, vita ejus eximia Religionis Christianæ, exemplar proposuit, imitabile ; quod docuit, id exornavit, pius, probus, benevolus ; natus MDCCXXIV ; denatus MDCCCIII. Nesnon Luciæ uxori optimæ ; obiit anno Christi MDCCXCVI, ætatis LXIX.

[A marble monument by Nollekens ; Arms—*Or* : between three griffins passant *sable*, a chevron of the second, charged with a shield *or* ; between three trefoils slipped *sable*, a chevron *gules*.
Motto—Doctus iter melius.]

23. THOMAS, sixth son of WILLIAM FREEMAN, Esq^{re}, of Millbank-street, Westminster, who died 10th January, 1865, aged 36 years, in hope of eternal life. To record their regret at the early death of one who endeared himself to all classes by his amiable bearing and active benevolence, many friends and neighbours have erected this tablet.

[Pedestal surmounted by a Latin cross in *basso relievo* ; Arms ;
Motto—Vigilans et gratus.]

(Those marked with an asterisk are mentioned by Walcott.)

In pursuance of an order of the Vestry on the 15th May, 1800, the following inscription was placed on the front of the western gallery, nearly above the font:—

"In Commemoration of their Majesties King George the Third and Queen Charlotte having on the 22nd day of March, 1800, conferred on the Noble Family of Grosvenor the high honour of being Sponsors in this Church, by their Proxies the Earl Fauconberg and the Countess of Harcourt, together with the Lord Grey de Wilton in person, to Thomas, the second son of Lord Viscount Belgrave. The ceremony was performed by his Grace John, Archbishop of Canterbury."

As originally proposed, the inscription was to have taken the following form:—

This Tablet is Erected
To commemorate the pious Benignity of
Their August Majesties :
King George the third, and
His Consort Queen Charlotte ;
Who, on the 22nd day of March. 1800,
IN THIS CHURCH
Conferred a singular honour, upon
The Noble family of Grosvenor :
In becoming Sponsors at this Baptismal Font ;
By their Proxies,
The Earl of Fauconberg, and the Countess of Harcourt,
With Lord Grey de Wilton, in Person :
For Thomas, the infant Son of
Lord Viscount Belgrave.
The Ceremony was performed
By His Grace, the Arch Bishop of Canterbury ;
And considered by the Rector, Churchwardens
And Vestry of this Parish
As an event so exemplary :
That they unanimously voted this Record ;
In the hope that it will have an influence
Upon the minds of Parents, of every Rank,
To the remotest Posterity.

From the fact that the writer in the *London Magazine* in 1825 (*see p. 51*), does not refer to the inscription, it may have been obliterated in connection with the works described in that notice. If not at that time, it must have disappeared in 1844, in the course of the re-decoration requisitioned by Archdeacon Sinclair. It existed in 1807,* but several of "the oldest inhabitants" who have been consulted upon the subject, have no recollection of having seen the inscription.

The church was the first in London lighted by gas. The proposal, which included warming, was made to the Vestry by the Gas Light & Coke Company on 14th October, 1813, the charge to be calculated upon the average cost of coals and candles during the three years preceding. The offer, as accepted

* Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*, Vol. IV. p. 168,

in September, 1814, was limited to the lighting. In 1842 "the Bude Light" was introduced on the recommendation of Mr. (afterwards Sir) H. A. Hunt, at an outlay of £190.

On Wednesday, 12th March, 1800, when St. Margaret's Church was closed for repairs, St. John's Church became "the Church of the House of Commons," who assembled there to a special service held under the King's Proclamation for the observance of the day as one of solemn fast and humiliation.* The sermon was preached by the Rev. Arthur Onslow, D.D., Dean of Worcester, and was afterwards printed.† Application for the accommodation was made to the Vestry by Mr. Speaker on 7th February preceding, when the pew reserved to "the Churchwardens who have passed the chair," was ordered to be specially set apart for the Speaker, and to be curtained and upholstered in crimson damask.

Before leaving the Church we must not omit to notice a very fine slate tablet, in a massive carved oak frame, at the west end of the Church on the north side, inscribed with a list of the

BENEFACTIONS.

24th December, 1757.

Sir John Crosse, Bart., towards defraying the expense
of the new Galleries in the Church £100

19th November, 1777.

Mr. John Bacchus, £400, Three per Cent. Consols, the
interest whereof to be given to ten poor people upon
every Christmas-day, in equal proportions, except
what may be expended in keeping the Monument
and Tomb of the said Mr. Bacchus, clean and in
good order £400

23rd June, 1782.

Edward Dickinson, Esq., to the Rector for the time being
of this Parish, one-third part of the Interest of £5,000,
Three per Cent. Consols in trust, to be by him dis-
tributed yearly for ever amongst three couples who
shall have been married twelve months next before
the time of distribution in Easter Week £5,000

* Hume says: "The deficient harvest this year and the consequent high price of bread occasioned much distress and discontent, attacks on the farmers, millers, and corn dealers were frequent and riots occurred in London."

† "Gentleman's Magazine," Vol. lxxi., Part I., p. 149.

8th February, 1787.

Godsalve Crosse, Esq., a Picture of the Ruins of this Church, after the fire on Sunday, 26th September, 1742.

14th March, 1806.

Mr. James Allen and Mr. William Ginger, Churchwardens, an Iron Chest to deposit the Church Plate and other articles in.

23rd April, 1813, and 12th February, 1818.

Mr. Thomas Green, the Figures of St. John the Evangelist and St. Paul on Stained Glass from the Old Church at Rouen, now placed in the East Window of this church.

12th February, 1827.

Simon Stephenson, Esqre., a large Painting handsomely framed as an Altar Piece for this Church, from the celebrated Picture by Murillo, in the Chapel of Magdalen College, Oxford, of Christ bearing the Cross.

1847.

Mr. Henry Arthur Hunt, a new Font with Railing.

1864.

Mr. James Hunt	} Towards the Fund for Repairing {	£500
Mr. John Fowler		
	this Church	£100

1866.

Rebecca Alldridge, Widow, £231 os. 5d. Consols. The Interest to be given annually by the Rector, to two or more married couples, in the Parish of St. John, who have lived together in love and harmony, soberly, respectably, and industriously for 3 years and upwards £231 0 5

THOS. HORN	} Churchwardens.
T. H. HARTLEY	
	1864.

Continuation Tablet over entrance to Vestry Room.

Robert Stafford, Esq. (formerly an Inhabitant of the Parish), bequeathed by his Will dated June 23rd, 1865, the sum of £400 to the Rector and Churchwardens for the time being of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster, upon trust, to invest the same and to divide the Interest thereof on Xmas day in every year between ten of the Poor Inhabitants of the said Parish whom they shall think proper objects.

The sum of £400 is invested in New 3 per Cent. Stocks. £434 3 10

As we withdraw with admiring eyes still lingering on this enduring record of our forefathers' liberality, our attention is drawn elsewhere by the striking of the clock above, warning us of Time's 'ceaseless course.' The church clock, which is in the centre of the pediment on the east side, was supplied and fixed by public subscription among the inhabitants, at the instance of Mr. Robert Stafford in 1843. The dial was illuminated nightly until the year 1849, when the lighting was discontinued on the ground of expense.

On our way out by the staircase leading from the Vestry room to the crypt door on the west side, curiosity prompts us to open the door facing that by which we shall leave, to look at the vaults beneath the church, and with the sound of the premonitory bell still fresh upon the ear, the thoughts turn involuntarily to—

"The knell, the shroud, the mattock, and the grave,
The deep damp vault, the darkness and the worm."

YOUNG.

We are not the first to explore these uninviting depths, for the records show that for the first century of their existence they were a frequent source of perplexity, and their user passed through many vicissitudes.

The first entry tells us that in 1731 they were let to Sir Thomas Crosse, one of the churchwardens, for the storage of coals for use in his brewery close by. In 1734, before the days of "casual wards," a report was made that the vaults had become "a receptacle for vagrants and beggars," and an order was passed for the clearance of the same with a view to their being again let to the best advantage. No tenant having come forward for two years, a labourer, with his wife and family, was permitted to occupy the vaults as a dwelling on condition that he swept the pavement round the church. In 1736 they were let to a carpenter, of Tufton-street, for £12 per annum. Shortly afterwards a movement was set on foot to utilise them for sepulture; but this was not then persevered with owing to objection taken by the

owners of the adjacent houses. In 1741 a more determined effort in this direction was made, when it was suggested that, as no provision on the subject was made in the Act under which the church was built, legal difficulties might be experienced. The laymen of the Vestry, who remembered that "the law is a sort of hocus-pocus science, that smiles in yer face while it picks yer pocket; and the glorious uncertainty of it is of mair use to the professors than the justice of it,"* took the precaution of stating a case for the opinion of counsel. The opinion is not preserved; but from the repeated postponement of its consideration an unwillingness to act upon it may safely be deduced. In 1743, some of the vaults were let to Mr. Charles Crosse, to supplement the storage of his neighbouring brewery, at £15 per annum; and in 1748 a further portion was let to the same tenant, at one shilling per butt per annum. In 1781, Dr. Blair, the Rector, set up a claim of right in the vaults, and attended with his attorney to support his claim. The Vestry declined to surrender, and instructed their solicitor to retain counsel to defend the action which was threatened. The action, which was tried before Lord Mansfield, on 29th May, 1781, resulted in a verdict for the parishioners.† The vaults under the steps were let for three years from October, 1803, for the storage of wine and beer, at £16 per annum. A committee appointed to consider the possibility

* Chas. Macklin; *Love à la Mode*.

† The *London Chronicle*, of Saturday, 2nd June, 1781, vol. 49, page 522, contains the following report of the trial:—"Tuesday last was tried before Lord Mansfield, a cause wherein the Rev. Dr. Blair, Prebendary of Westminster, and Rector of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster, was Plaintiff, and Mr. Byfield and Mr. Gayfere, Churchwardens of the said parish, Defendants. The action was brought by the Rector to recover a sum of money received for fees by the Churchwardens, by virtue of their office, for laying down grave-stones in the churchyard, and for rent received for vaults under the church, which had, ever since the consecration of the church, been received by the Churchwardens on the parish account, in ease of the parish towards paying the Rector part of his income settled by Act of Parliament, by a pound rate on the inhabitants, &c., and after a full hearing, a verdict was given for the Defendants."

of increasing the space available for burials, in 1813, expressed their regret that the vaults were used for the storage of beer, and strongly recommended for consideration by the Vestry, the possibility of "using them more advantageously as cemeteries." No action having been taken upon this suggestion, it was revived in 1821, by the churchwardens, who urged in support of it, that the vaults were "capable of holding 2,500 bodies"! The last tenants, according to the records, were Messrs. Starkey, brewers, who paid £50 per annum for the storage in 1822. The tenancy continued for some years; but there is no mention of the vaults being let for any purpose after Archdeacon Jennings assumed charge of the parish.



CHAPTER III.

THE RECTORS.

"Such men the Church selected still,
As either joyed in doing ill,
Or thought more grace to gain."

SCOTT

What's orthodox and true believing
Against a conscience? A good living!
What makes all doctrines plain and clear?
About two hundred pounds a year.
And that which was proved true before
Prove false again? Two hundred more.

BUTLER.

Provision for Rector's Maintenance.—Condition of the Clergy in eighteenth century.—Dr. Gee.—Rev. John Villa, M.A.—Dr. Willes.—Rev. Joseph Sims, M.A.—Dr. Blair.—Dr. Finch.—Dr. Vincent.—Canon Holland Edwards, M.A.—Archdeacon Jennings.—Canon Furse.—The Rector's Rate.

AS the construction of the Church approached completion, the Commissioners and the parishioners be-
thought themselves that no provision had been made for the maintenance of a Rector for the newly-formed parish. A petition "of the principal and other inhabitants of Millbank" was therefore presented to Parliament on 23rd February, 1726, in which was recited the facts that the church was "finished and made fit for Divine Worship, that a dwelling house had been built for the minister and that the petitioners were willing to provide a competent maintenance, by means of a pound rate, for the intended minister and his successors." The committee to whom the petition was referred reported having taken the evidence of William French and Robert Waldron, Churchwardens of St. Margaret's, from which it appeared that such of the inhabitants as lived in the new district could not be supplied

with seats in the parish church. A Bill was thereupon ordered to be brought in,* and this having been done, the Rev. Lawrence Broderick, D.D., Minister of the New Chapel (now Christ Church) petitioned against the Bill as being prejudicial to his interests, and praying to be heard by counsel in opposition to its being allowed to pass. The progress of the Bill was thereby retarded for a year. On the 22nd March, 1727, a petition was again presented by the parishioners, in which they urged "that the new church is very much wanted for that the greater number of the inhabitants cannot be supplied with seats in St. Margaret's Church." The interests of the aggrieved minister having been safeguarded, a Bill was introduced and passed in the same Session (1 Geo. II. cap. 15) by which £2,500 was granted for investment in land or other securities, and provision was made for the raising of £125 per annum by means of a rate upon the occupiers of property within the new parish. The Act also secured to the curate of St. Margaret's, Dr. Edward Gee, the interest on the £2,500 and the produce of the rate, subject to certain payments, and conditional upon his "providing or procuring pious and learned ministers to officiate in the said new church." A provision was also made in the Act (sec. 10) that upon the curacy of St. Margaret's becoming vacant, the first rector of the new parish should be nominated and appointed by the King, and all succeeding rectors by the Dean and Chapter.

The £2,500 were applied to the purchase of £2,418 15*s.* 0*d.* Old South Sea Annuities, which produced £72 11*s.* 2*d.* per annum. Adding to this the £125 to be levied by rate, the income, irrespective of fees, was £197 11*s.* 2*d.* This was charged, however, with the payment of £52 per annum to Dr. Lawrence Broderick, of the New Chapel, during his ministry, and of £17 8*s.* 11*d.* to the curate of St. Margaret's

* Journals of the House of Commons.

who should succeed Dr. Gee. The fixed income, irrespective of fees, was thus left at £127 11s. 1d., with residence.*

The Ecclesiastical Commissioners in their Second Report (4th March, 1836) stated that the King, having resigned his right of appointing to the prebendal stall in Westminster Abbey, vacant by the death of Dr. George Holcombe, they had annexed it to the parish of St. John, Westminster.

Matters were placed upon a much more satisfactory basis by an Act passed in 1840 (3 and 4 Vict., cap. 113), although the enactment as to the levying of the Rector's rate remained operative. Under this new Act, which has been described as "an Act for the abolition of unnecessary canonries and for the suppression of *sine cure* benefices," reforms of the first importance to the Church in relation to her revenues and expenditure throughout England and the Metropolis were introduced. Its provisions affecting Westminster suspended six of the canonries, and annexed the several rectories of St. Margaret and St. John to two of the remaining canonries; and it enacted "that the successors of the Rev. Henry Hart Milman and of the Rev. John Jennings shall as Canons of the said Collegiate Church become *ipso facto* Rectors of the said respective parishes and the parish churches thereof."

As we proceed to collect the scattered and imperfect particulars preserved to us of those who have held spiritual charge of the parish, we look in vain for improvement in the religious condition of the people as we have seen it at the time Queen Anne's Commission sat (*see page 19*), and when, in 1711, several of the Bishops reported to Convocation "the great poverty of divers churches in their dioceses by reason whereof Divine Service was not performed within several of them above once a fortnight, and in some of them not so often." Although eighteen years had elapsed since the Queen had expressed her great anxiety on these

* In 1880 the gross income was returned at £270 and house; for the present year (1892) the value is given as £620 gross.

matters, we find Bishop Burnet describing the state of religion as most lamentable, the clergy as "dead and lifeless, the most remiss in their labours in private, and the least severe in their lives." The high churchman Atterbury declares that the disregard to all religious places, persons and things "had scarcely a parallel in any age," and the nonconformist Dr. Calamy, of Westminster,* is found complaining that "the decay of real religion both in and out of the church was most visible." The rule had its exceptions; but even the brilliant example of Bishop Ken, whose blameless life, holy conversation, unfaltering devotion, and fervid, simple eloquence, though acknowledged on all sides, left no perceptible mark on the leading clergy. Such examples were not to be studied in an age which lent its readiest encouragement to controversy and to pluralism. We are not surprised, therefore, to read that "it is notorious that the Church of this country was never in a more inefficient state than during the greater part of the eighteenth century. The old school of theology had become extinct, and an extremely worldly spirit was engendered in the clergy. The clerical habit was gradually thrown aside for one more in conformity with the ordinary dress of laymen; and whilst a vast population was accumulating, . . . few or no attempts were made to provide them with the saving knowledge of the Gospel."† Pope, in his *Dunciad*, published in the year the Church was consecrated, wrote:—

Thence to the banks where rev'rend bards repose,
They led him soft; each rev'rend bard arose;
And Milbourn‡ chief, deputed by the rest,
Gave him the cassock, surcingle and vest.
"Receive" (he said) "these robes which once were mine,
"Dulness is sacred in a sound divine."

* Dr. Calamy died 2nd June, 1732.

† Debay. *History of the Church of England.*

‡ A clergyman distinguished for the fairness of his criticisms.

and hoped for the time when:—

One trill shall harmonise joy, grief, and rage,
Wake the dull Church, and lull the ranting stage.

Dean Swift, who was contemporary with Pope, proposed the significant “Query.—Whether Churches are not dormitories of the living as well as of the dead?”

An insight into the condition of the clergy is afforded by the following report which is taken *verbatim* from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LX., Part II., p. 665:—

“Friday, July 30, 1790. Case 4. An action brought by a poor curate against his rich rector. The counsel stated, that the plaintiff had a wife and six children, that he did the duty of two churches for the defendant, at a salary of 40*l* a year, for which the defendant received not less than 700*l* a year; that the plaintiff, who wanted bread for his family, had applied in vain to his rector for a quarter's salary some little time before it was due, and likewise for payment of the money he had laid out for him in wine, gin, and other liquors, when he came down occasionally to *look* at his church; for which he had refused to pay, though he could assign no cause. The plaintiff, the counsel said, was not near in so good a situation as the footman who rode behind the coaches of the clergy.

The judge said, this was a case in which an application might have been made to the Bishop for an increase of salary; and left it with the Jury to state what they thought reasonable for liquors. The Jury gave a verdict for 16*l* 16*s*.”

The brilliant Coleridge, himself the son of a clergyman, beautifully records among his *Fears in Solitude*, written in 1798, his deep concern that—

“The sweet words
Of Christian promise, words that even yet
Might stem destruction, were they wisely preached,
Are muttered o'er by men, whose tones proclaim
How flat and wearisome they feel their trade:
Rank scoffers some, but most too indolent
To deem them falsehoods or to know their truth.”

Macaulay's reference to the condition of the clergy may fittingly be called to mind in this connection. He informs us that:—

“The place of the clergyman in society had been changed by the Reformation. Before that event, ecclesiastics had formed the majority of the House of Lords, had in wealth and splendour, equalled, and sometimes outshone, the greatest of the temporal barons, and had generally

held the highest civil offices. . . . There was no longer an Abbot of Glastonbury or an Abbot of Reading seated among the peers, and possessed of revenues equal to those of a powerful earl. . . . Once the circumstance that a man could read had raised the presumption that he was in orders. . . . The spiritual character not only ceased to be a qualification for high civil office, but began to be regarded as a disqualification. . . . Not one parish in two hundred then afforded what a man of family considered as a maintenance. . . . Thus the sacerdotal office lost its attraction for the higher classes. . . . The clergy were regarded as, on the whole, a plebeian class. . . . A young Levite—such was the phrase then in use,—might be had for his board, a small garret, and ten pounds a year, and might not only perform his own professional functions, might not only be the most patient of butts and of listeners, might not only be always ready in fine weather for bowls, and in rainy weather for shovelboard, but might also save the expense of a gardener or a groom. Sometimes the reverend man nailed up the apricots; and sometimes he curried the horses. He cast up the farrier's bills. He walked ten miles with a message or a parcel. He was permitted to dine with the family; but he was expected to content himself with the plainest fare. He might fill himself with the corned beef and the carrots; but, as soon as the tarts and the cheesecakes made their appearance, he quitted his seat, and stood aloof till he was summoned to return thanks for the repast, from a great part of which he had been excluded.

Perhaps, after some years of service, he was presented to a living sufficient to support him; but he often found it necessary to purchase his preferment by a species of simony, which furnished an inexhaustible subject of pleasantry to three or four generations of scoffers. With his cure he was expected to take a wife. The wife had ordinarily been in the patron's service: and it was well if she was not suspected of standing too high in the patron's favour. . . . During several generations the relations between divines and hand-maidens was a theme for endless jest. . . . Even so late as the time of George the Second, the keenest of all observers of life and manners, himself a priest [Swift] remarked that in a great household, the chaplain was the resource of the lady's maid whose character had been blown upon, and who was therefore forced to give up hopes of catching the steward.

In general the divine who quitted his chaplainship for a benefice and a wife, found that he had only exchanged one class of vexations for another. Hardly one living in fifty enabled the incumbent to bring up a family comfortably. . . . It was a white day on which he was admitted into the kitchen of a great house, and regaled with cold meat and ale. His children were brought up like the children of the neighbouring peasantry. His boys followed the plough; and his girls went out to service.

In "Tom Jones" (1749), Mrs. Seagrim, the wife of a gamekeeper, and Mrs. Honour, a waiting-woman, boast of

their descent from clergymen. "It is to be hoped," says Fielding, "such instances will in future ages, when some provision is made for the families of the inferior clergy, appear stranger than they can be thought at present."

So lately as the opening years of the present century we find Wordsworth, moved by the corruptions of the higher clergy, inditing his warning which commences:—

"Woe to you, prelates ! rioting in ease
And cumbrous wealth—the shame of your estate ;
Who will be served by others on their knees,
Yet will yourselves to God no service pay ;
Pastors who neither take nor point the way
To Heaven ; for either lost in vanities
Ye have no skill to teach, or if ye know
And speak the word—Alas ! of fearful things
'Tis the most fearful when the people's eye
Abuse hath cleared from vain imaginings."

Pluralism was no doubt responsible for the privations and indignities to which many of the assistant clergy were subjected, and although the Act of 7 Geo. III. invested the Bishops with considerable power as to enforcing the performance of Divine Service in the churches twice on every Sunday, it was not until the Spring of 1832, that the Restriction of Pluralities Act removed many of the difficulties traceable to the system—a system under which 6,124 parishes were stated by a noble Lord to be without resident incumbents, and which was denounced in the House of Lords as "a taint on the whole Establishment."

We would fain exonerate the Rectors of St. John's from the reflections which the foregoing references suggest ; but when we find a parish subjected for well nigh a hundred years to the inconveniences inseparable from the living being held by pluralists and non-resident rectors, such exoneration is forbidden. Had it been otherwise we should not have found Churchill, who was curate of the parish

from 1758-9 to 1763-4, writing in his dedication to Dr. Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester :—

“ Much did I wish, e’en whilst I kept those sheep,
Which, for my curse, I was ordained to keep,
Ordain’d alas ! to keep through need, not choice,
Those sheep *which never heard their shepherd’s voice.*”

In his *Author* also, published in 1763, during the rectorship of the Rev. Joseph Sims, who held at the same time the rectory of East Ham, the profligate poet-priest writes :—

“ Condemn’d (like many more and worthier men
To whom I pledge the service of my pen)
Condemn’d (whilst proud and pamper’d sons of lawn
Cramm’d to the throat in lazy plenty yawn)
In pomp of reverend beggary to appear,
To pray and *starve on forty pounds a year.*”

From the brief notices which follow, it will be seen that some of the Rectors of the parish attained positions of distinction in other respects, though some were content to delegate much of the responsible work in the parish to their curates.

The autographs of the Rectors have been collected, and are reproduced on the next page. It will be observed that the three signatures of Dr. Edward Willes, the third Rector, are given—his usual one before his elevation to the episcopal bench, and his official signatures as the Bishop-elect of St. David’s, and as the spiritual father of Bath and Wells :—

Edw. Gee

gr villa.

E. Wiles

Edw. d. St. David's Elect.

Edw. d. Bath & Wells.

Joseph Sims

W. P. Lewis

B. P. Finch

W. Vincent

W. H. Mansel Edwards

John Jennings

I.—EDWARD GEE, D.D., 1728-30.

Dr. Gee, who was 71 years of age at the time the church was consecrated, was not formally appointed to the rectory, but was required to perform Divine service in consideration of the provision made in his favour in the Act of 1 Geo. II. (*see page 71*). He was the son of George Gee, a shoemaker, of Manchester. Born in 1657, and baptized in the Collegiate Church, Manchester, on 29th August of that year, he was educated at the Manchester Grammar School, and was admitted thence to St. John's College, Cambridge, on 9th May, 1676. He graduated B.A. in 1679, M.A., 1683, and his D.D. degree was conferred upon him by Archbishop Tenison on 8th February, 1695. He was a protestant writer of great prominence in early life, and towards the end of James II.'s reign took a leading part in the popish controversy, in the course of which he published several tracts included in the list of works given on the next page. He was Vicar of Great Wilbraham, Cambridge, in 1685, Rector of St. Benets, Paul's Wharf, 1688-1706, Chaplain in Ordinary to William III. and Queen Mary, Rector of Chevening, Kent, 1707-1730, Minister of the Duke Street Chapel in 1708-17, and Curate and Lecturer of St. Margaret's Westminster, 1724-1730, during the last two years of which he officiated at St. John's.

Dr. Gee was installed Prebendary of Westminster 6th December, 1701, Dean of Peterborough, 9th December, 1721, Canon of Lincoln, 5th April, 1722, and Dean of Lincoln, 21st May, 1722. He had license on the 25th January, 1702-3, from the Faculty Office of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to marry in Lambeth Palace Chapel, Jane Limbrey, of Haddington, in the parish of Upton-Gray, Hants, spinster, daughter of Henry Limbrey, of London, Merchant, and of Hoddington. She died 8th April, 1733, aged 66, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Dr. Gee died on 1st March, 1729-30, and was interred in the Abbey.

The following are among the tracts written by Dr. Gee :—

1. *Veteres Vindicati*, in an expostulatory letter to Mr. Sclater, of Putney, upon his *Consensus Veterum*, 1687.
2. An answer to the compiler of the *Nubes Testium*, 1688.
3. A Vindication of the Principles of the Author of the Answer to the compiler of the *Nubes Testium*, 1688.
4. *The Primitive Fathers no Papists*, 1688.
5. The Judgment of Archbishop Cranmer concerning the People's right to and discreet use of the Holy Scriptures, 1689.
6. A Letter to Father Lewis Sabran, Jesuit, concerning the Invocation of Saints, 1688.
7. A Second Letter to Father Lewis Sabran, Jesuit, in answer to his reply, 1688.
8. A Third Letter to Father Lewis Sabran, Jesuit, 1688.
9. A Letter to the Superiours (whether Bishops or Priests) which approve or license the Popish books in England, 1688.
10. The Texts examined which Papists cite out of the Bible for the proof of their Doctrine concerning the worship of Images and Reliques, 1688.
11. The Texts examined which Papists cite out of the Bible for the proof of their Doctrine concerning the Seven Sacraments and the efficacy of them. In two parts, 1688.
12. The Catalogue of all the Discourses published against Popery during the reign of King James II., 1689.

Dr. Gee also published :—

1. The Jesuits' Memorial for the intended Reformation of England under their first Popish Prince, published from the copy that was presented to the late King James II., with an Introduction and some animadversions. London. 1690. 8vo.
(This 'Memorial,' written by Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, was originally printed in 1596).
2. *Of the Improvement of Time*. A sermon on Ephesians v., 16. Preached before the Queen at Whitehall, Aug. 7, 1692. London. 1692. 4to.

Dean Swift, in his *Occasional Notes*, records that "Dr. Gee, Prebendary of Westminster, who had writ a small paper against popery, being obliged to travel for his health, affected to disguise his person and change his name as he passed thro' Portugal, Spain, and Italy, telling all the English he met that he was afraid of being murdered or put into the Inquisition. He was acting the same farce at Paris, till Mr. Prior, who was then Secretary to the Embassy, quite disconcerted the Doctor by maliciously dis-

covering the secret, and offering to engage, body for body, that not a creature would hurt him or had ever heard of him or his pamphlet."

2.—JOHN VILLA, A.M., 1730-1735.

Son of Peter Villa, of the City of London, was educated at Westminster School, to which he was elected in 1684, proceeding to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was admitted a pensioner on 5th June, 1687, at the age of sixteen. He matriculated on 9th July following, and graduated B.A. in 1690. He was for many years preceptor to the Princess Royal of Prussia, and was presented to the rectory of St. John the Evangelist by King George II., his presentation having passed the Great Seal on 20th August, 1730. He died early in 1736.

3.—EDWARD WILLES, D.D., 1736-1742.

Son of the Rev. John Willes, D.D., Prebendary of Lichfield and Rector of Bishops-Itchington, Warwickshire, by Annie, daughter of Sir William Walker, of the City of Oxford, Knt., was born 6th March, 1693-4. He matriculated at Oxford, from Oriel College, 26th February, 1708-9, and took the degrees of B.A., on 30th Oct., 1712, M.A., 6th July, 1715, and B.D., and D.D., on 8th July, 1726. He was instituted to the rectory of Barton-le-Cley, Bedfordshire, 7th November, 1718, and was installed Prebendary of Westminster on 26th August, 1724, Canon of Lincoln, 13th May, 1730, and Dean of Lincoln on the 16th *idem*. He became rector of Bonsell, Derbyshire, in 1734, and on 31st March, 1736, was instituted to the rectory of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster. Dr. Willes, who held the office of "Decipherer to the King," was consecrated Bishop of St. David's on 2nd January, 1742-3, and was translated in the December next following to the See of Bath and Wells.

The following quaint account of his marriage is given in *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, ed. 1869, vol. II., page 89:—

"Feb. 6 (1718-19). On Monday morning last, Mrs. Jenny White,

daughter of Alderman White, of Oxford, was married in Merton College chapell to Mr. Willes of Oriel coll. who is King George's decypherer, and hath lately got a very good parsonage in Hartfordshire. This gentleman is one of the *Constitutioners*, as they are called, and is a very great Whig, as is also Alderman White, whose eldest daughter, Mrs. Mary White (looked upon as a great beauty, as Mrs. Jenny White is also handsome) married a gentleman of University Coll., who had little or nothing (though he hath got some preferment since) at the same time that she might have had Mr., now Dr., Clavering, who hath got about a thousand a year. Mr. Willes and Mrs. Jenny took coach and went out of town immediately after they were married."

Six of their children were baptized in Westminster Abbey, where also four were buried.

Mrs. Willes died on 9th October, 1771, and was interred in the Abbey.

The fire which destroyed the interior of St. John's Church happened during Dr. Willes' rectorship; but the duties of his bishopric at St. David's prevented his return to attend to the affairs of his parish until six weeks after the occurrence. Having a few months later resigned the rectory, he pressed the Vestry for payment of the allowance from the rector's-rate for the quarter in which the fire took place. The parish purse had become quite impoverished by the disaster, and the Bishop's demand was only satisfied by one of the churchwardens advancing the amount in arrear, £31 5s., from his own pocket.

Dr. Willes died at Hill-street, Berkeley-square, on 24th November, 1773, aged 80, and was interred in Westminster Abbey on 1st December following.

4.—JOSEPH SIMS, A.M., 1742-1776,

Was born on 13th February, 1695, and educated at Merchant Taylors' School, where he was admitted on 13th September, 1706. He matriculated as a sizar from Catharine Hall, Cambridge, on 12th April, 1712, and graduated B.A., in 1714, proceeding M.A., in 1718. He was Chaplain to Dr. Joseph Wilcocks, successively Bishop of Gloucester and Rochester, whom he succeeded as chaplain to the English factory at Lisbon. Mr. Sims,

who was instituted to the rectory of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster, on the 17th February, 1742, was installed prebendary of North Kelsey, in Lincoln Cathedral, 26th March, 1747-8, and prebendary of Eald-street in St. Paul's Cathedral on 6th December following. In January, 1756, he was collated by the Bishop of London to the vicarage and parish church of St. Mary Magdalen, East Ham, Essex, where he subsequently rebuilt the parsonage house at his own expense. A suit by which Mr. Sims, as vicar of East Ham, claimed tithes of beans and peas, was determined against him both in Chancery, in Michaelmas Term, 1756, and on Appeal to the House of Lords in December, 1762. (See Burn's *Ecclesiastical Law*, ed. 1763, Vol. II. p. 400). A copy of the printed judgment [Lond. 1762, folio], is in the British Museum. Mr. Sims married in the parish church of St. George-the-Martyr, Bloomsbury, on 21st August, 1750, Winifred Stevens, widow, of the parish of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster. He published :—

"A sermon [on Neh. II., 19,—“What is this thing that ye do. Will ye rebel against the King?”] on Occasion of the present Rebellion. Preach'd in the parish church of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster, on Sunday, September 22, 1745. London : Printed for John Stagg, in Westminster-Hall, 1745.” 4to.

"Fifteen Sermons on Various Subjects." London : 1772. 8vo.

Mr. Sims appears to have devoted his attention principally to the parish of East Ham, the charge of the parish of St. John being entrusted to Charles Churchill, and subsequently to his talented but dissipated son, the poet. The senior Churchill was rector of Rainham, in Essex, during the time he held the curacy and lectureship in St. John's.

Mr. Sims died at the rectory-house of St. John's, on 28th April, 1776, and was interred in the churchyard of East Ham, where his wife was also buried, 22nd September, 1768.

5.—JOHN BLAIR, LL.D., 1776-1782.

Belonged to the Blairs of Balthayock, Perthshire. He

was born in 1723 (exact date unknown) in Edinburgh, in which city he was also educated. Coming to London at an early age, he became usher of a school in Hedge Lane, and on the 7th March, 1751, was honoured by the University of Aberdeen with the degree of LL.D. He was in Holy Orders in 1754, when the publication of his *magnum opus*, "The Chronology and History of the World from the Creation to the Year of Christ, 1753, illustrated in LVI. Tables," brought him a world-wide reputation as a chronologist. In September, 1757, he was appointed chaplain to the Princess Dowager of Wales and mathematical tutor to the Duke of York. Having been created M.A. at Cambridge *per Literas Regias* early in 1761, Dr. Blair became Prebendary of Westminster on 10th March of that year, and in the same year had the vicarage of Hinckley, Leicestershire, and the rectory of Barton-Coggles, Lincolnshire. He was chosen F.S.A. on 10th December, 1761. In March, 1771, he became vicar of St. Bride's, Fleet-street, which he resigned in April, 1776. He was instituted to the rectory of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster, on the 9th July of that year, and held simultaneously the rectory of Horton, Bucks.

Dr. Blair was elected F.R.S. in 1755, in recognition of his fame as a scholar and mathematician. His great chronological work, was reprinted in 1756, 1768, 1779, 1803, and 1814, fol., and edited by Sir Henry Ellis in 1844, and 1851, 8vo. It was 'revised and enlarged' by J. Willoughby Rosse in Bohn's 'Scientific Library,' 1856, 8vo., and Bohn's 'Reference Library,' 1882, 8vo.

Dr. Blair also published :—

1. Fourteen Maps of Ancient and Modern Geography, for the illustration of the Tables of Chronology and History. To which is prefixed a Dissertation on the rise and progress of Geography. London, 1768. Large fol.
2. The History of the rise and progress of Geography. Lond., 1784. 12 mo. (A partial reprint of the former work).
3. Lectures on the Canon of the Scriptures ; comprehending a Dissertation on the Septuagint Version. Lond., 1785. 4to. (posth).

Dr. Blair also communicated to the *Philosophical Tran-*

sactions of the Royal Society in 1755 (vol. 49, pt. i. pp. 367, 379) Accounts of the Agitation of the Water at Earley Court, near Reading, Berkshire, and at White-rock, near Swansea.

Dr. Blair married at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on 22nd February, 1770, Ann Persode, daughter of Col. John Darby, who survived him and administered to his estate 7th July, 1782. Nine of his children were baptised in Westminster Abbey.

His death took place on 24th June, 1782, at the age of fifty-nine, and he was buried in the Abbey.

6.—ROBERT POOLE FINCH, D.D., 1782-1803.

A son of the Rev. Richard Finch, was born at Greenwich on 3rd March, 1724, and baptised in the parish church there on the 10th March following. In 1736 he entered Merchant Taylors' School, and at the age of nineteen (1743) graduated B.A. from Peterhouse Cambridge, proceeding M.A., in 1747, and D.D., in 1772. On the 23rd September, 1744, being then twenty years of age, he was ordained deacon, and three years later was appointed to the curacy of a populous parish on the borders of the metropolis. Immediately after he had taken priest's orders, he was unanimously chosen chaplain of Guy's Hospital, which position he held for 37 years, during part of which period he was engaged in the curacy of another metropolitan parish. In 1755 he was appointed by the Worshipful Company of Haberdashers, to the lectureship of St. Bartholomew's behind the Exchange, which he continued to hold to the time of his death. In 1771, Dr. Finch was chosen rector of St. Michael's, Cornhill; and on 1st November, 1781, he was installed prebendary of Westminster. On the 4th December, 1782, he was collated by the Dean and Chapter to the rectory of St. John the Evangelist, upon which he resigned the living of St. Michael's. He also held the office of Treasurer to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for more than twenty years.

Dr. Finch, who was an eminent preacher, and “an uncommonly fine and graceful person,” published several occasional sermons, and was the author of:—

1. Considerations upon the use and abuse of Oaths judicially taken, particularly in respect to perjury. Lond. 1788. 8vo.; 2nd ed. 1789, 8vo., 1800, 1807, 12mo., which became a standard work among the publications of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
2. Tracts, containing a Defence of the Doctrine of Regeneration; Advice to Young Clergymen; Thoughts on the Sovereignty of God, etc. Lond. 1793, 8vo.

Mrs. Lucy Finch, wife of Dr. Finch, died on 11th March, 1796, aged sixty-seven, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Dr. Finch died on 18th May, 1803, and was interred in Westminster Abbey on 26th *idem*. Administration of his estate (personalty sworn under £20,000), was granted on 6th June, 1803, to his only child, Thomas Finch, Esq., F.R.S.

Walcott, in his *Memorials of Westminster*, 1849, p. 314, quotes from the inscription on the mural monument in the Church, that Mrs. Finch died in 1746; but this is an error, as will be seen by reference to the inscription at p. 63. The age is stated on the monument as 69, whereas the Abbey registers give it as 67.

7.—WILLIAM VINCENT, D.D., 1803-1806.

The fifth son of Giles Vincent, an opulent Portugal merchant, and Deputy of Lime Street Ward, was born on 2nd November, 1739, and admitted to Westminster School in 1753. He was elected to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1757, whence he graduated B.A. in 1761. Having been chosen Fellow of his college, he proceeded M.A. in 1764, and D.D. in 1776. In 1762 he was appointed usher of Westminster School; in 1771 he became second master, and returned as Head-master in September, 1788. After having held the Vicarage of Longdon, Worcestershire, for a few months in 1778, he became, in the same year, rector of All Hallows the Great and Less, London. Resigning

this benefice in 1803, he was instituted on the 31st May of that year to the rectory of St. John's, which he held until 1806, when he presented himself to the rectory of Islip, Oxfordshire, a living in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, which he held until his death. He was installed prebendary of Westminster on 21st April, 1801, and Dean of Westminster on 7th August, 1802, on the consecration of Dr. Horsley as Bishop of St. Asaph.

Dr. Vincent was also chaplain to the King, 1771; sub-almoner, 1784; President of Sion College, 1798; and Prolocutor to the Lower House of Convocation, 1802. He was author of 'The Voyage of Nearchus from the Indus to the Euphrates,' London, 1747, 4to, and published numerous other valuable works, translations, sermons, etc., from 1784 to 1809. Vol. I. of his 'Sermons on Faith, Doctrines, and Public Duties' was published by his son, the Rev. William St. Andrew Vincent, in 1817, and contained a life of the author by the Rev. Robert Nares, afterwards Archdeacon of Stafford; vol. II. appeared in 1836, 8vo.

Dean Vincent died on 21st December, 1815, and was buried on 29th *idem* in St. Benedict's Chapel in Westminster Abbey.

8.—HOWEL HOLLAND EDWARDS, M.A., 1806-1832.

Son of the Rev. Edward Edwards, of Caerhun, co. Carnarvon, was born at Pennant, Eglwysfach, Denbigh, on 6th November, 1762. He matriculated at the age of eighteen from Christ Church, Oxford, on 30th May, 1782; graduated B.A., on 3rd May, 1786, and proceeded M.A. on 14th January, 1789. He was sometime librarian and chaplain to the Duke of Marlborough, from whom he received the rectory of the Second Portion of Waddesdon, Bucks, on 31st May, 1794. In 1799 he was nominated to the rectory of Pennant, his native town, with which benefice he also held the vicarage of Llanwrst, in the same county. He

was elected to the prebendal stall of Llanvair First Portion in St. Asaph Cathedral on 19th April, 1799; was installed prebendary of Westminster on 31st May, 1803, and was instituted to the rectory of St. John the Evangelist on the 25th March, 1807. On 10th April in the same year Canon Edwards obtained a license from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to be absent from the parish for twenty-one years. By the same license the yearly stipend of £100, with the use of the rectory house and garden, was assigned to the Rev. Joshua Nussey, as curate in charge. The pew rents and burial fees being sufficient to raise this stipend, no 'rector's rate' was made during his non-residence. Canon Edwards' signature only occurs in the Register of Baptisms four times during his twenty-six years' tenure of the rectory.

Canon Edwards married in St. George's Church, Hanover-square, by license, on 12th May, 1798, Caroline Palmer, of the same parish, spinster, daughter of Robert (? Richard) Palmer, Esq., of Hurst, Berkshire, and of Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, many years agent to the Duke of Bedford. Mrs. Edwards died on 22nd April, 1834, aged sixty-nine years, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Canon Edwards, who resigned the rectory in 1832, died on 29th September, 1846, aged 83, and was interred in the north aisle of the Abbey.

9.—JOHN JENNINGS, M.A., 1832-1883.

Son of John Jennings of Llnest-Hen, Cardiganshire, was born in 1798. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin, he graduated B.A. in 1820, and proceeded to the degree of M.A. in the year 1832. After having held the curacy of West Meon, Hampshire, for some years, Mr. Jennings came to St. John's as curate under Canon Edwards, upon whose resignation he was instituted to the rectory on the 29th February, 1832. He was gazetted canon residentiary of Westminster, on 9th January, 1837;

became Rural Dean of St. Margaret and St. John, and Archdeacon of Westminster, in 1868, and was for some years Sub-Dean. Canon Jennings was chaplain to the Worshipful Company of Spectacle Makers, and was chaplain to the Lord Mayor (Alderman Johnson) in 1845.

Archdeacon Jennings, who was twice married, died at his house, 18, Dean's-yard, on 26th March, 1883, aged eighty-four, and was buried at Lyne, near Chertsey, in Surrey.

Out of respect to his wish, which led him to destroy all his papers shortly before his death, no attempt is made to indite anything approaching a biographical notice of his long and active life in the parish. There are, however, many surviving members of his congregation who will naturally expect to find at least a passing reference to the reformation of the parish, in matters ecclesiastical, which was entirely due to his untiring devotion.

Of the Rectors of St. John's, or

“Of most, all mention, memory, thought are past—
But take a slight memorial of the last.”

Among the many friends of Mr. Jennings, when he came to London as curate to the Rev. Howel Holland Edwards, was the Rev. Richard (afterwards Canon) Harvey, who, as Mr. Jennings came from the country “while yet he wore the rose of youth upon him” to enter upon his labours in London, was about to leave London to take the rectory of Hornsey, then as much a country village as if it had been in the middle of Yorkshire. The one was a robust, hearty, vigorous young country gentleman, of agreeable presence, the other a thorough Londoner. Neither found it easy to settle down to the peculiar demands of his parish. Mr. Harvey, slow to appreciate the advantages of a country life, sighed to return to town; Mr. Jennings, unable easily to reconcile himself to the heavy demands of a London curacy, with a non-resident rector, inclined towards the country side of life again. An exchange of livings between the two young clergymen was accordingly proposed; but a

trifling incident led to its being abandoned. They thereupon entered in real earnest upon their duties in their respective parishes, where they were each permitted to labour uninterruptedly for more than fifty years. Much of the success which attended Mr. Jennings' early ministry at St. John's was due to his unaffected sympathy with the young men of the parish—a characteristic which had made him deservedly popular in his Hampshire curacy. Here, on one occasion, a disagreement had arisen between the Rector and "the lads of the village," in consequence of their having preferred the physical exercises of the cricket-field to the devotional exercises of the Church on the Sunday afternoons. The rector had forbidden the use of the cricket-field, and had enjoined the sportive members of his flock to repair to the Church, and their disobedience had incurred the rectorial displeasure. So completely had the young curate won the confidence of the lads, that they sought his counsel in the situation. Their plea of hard work, and 'long hours,' and the harmlessness of the recreation, in itself so far availed with the young curate, as to result in a compromise by which both parties were brought to agreement. The young fellows were afterwards to be seen on their way to church with their cricketing accessories, which they deposited in the churchyard while they attended the afternoon service, to be 'pitched' in the meadow for the remainder of the day upon the dismissal of the congregation.

Mr. Jennings applied himself to the duties of his curacy with great zeal until the resignation of his rector, and not less so after he had succeeded to the rectory. In 1837, a prebendal stall in the Abbey was bestowed upon him by Lord Melbourne, then Prime Minister. The honour was conferred upon him without solicitation or previous consultation. His first knowledge of the fact was derived from the columns of the daily newspaper, so that 'he awoke one morning and found himself famous.' In 1840 (*see p. 72*), a canonry became annexed to the rectory by law.

It fell to Canon Jennings' lot to assist in the magnificent service at the Abbey on the coronation of Her present Majesty, when the Queen's contribution to the offertory took the form of a large nugget of gold. This treasure the Canon purchased at its full value, and had it beaten into a handsome cup, which he highly prized. He was the last surviving clergyman who assisted at the ceremony.

During the rule of all former rectors there had been but two services, morning and afternoon, on Sundays. The new rector early initiated a movement for the establishment of a third, or evening service, in which he consulted with his parishioners and received their hearty support. This brought an unlooked for, though temporary, trouble, for the Lecturer endeavoured to assert his right to officiate at these popular services. Mr. Jennings found it necessary, in order to maintain his absolute authority, to keep the pulpit locked until actually required. The beadle would then precede the rector up the steps, unlock the door for his admission, lock it again, and return to release him on the conclusion of the discourse. Although the expenses of the evening service were partly defrayed by the parishioners' subscriptions, Canon Jennings for many years appropriated towards the fund, upon the condition specified in the following characteristic letter, the whole of the stipend allowed to the clergy in connection with the additional duty:—

RECTORY, *Nov. 20, 1846.*

GENTLEMEN,

Adopting fully the views of those respectable Parishioners, who in December, 1834, memorialized the then Churchwardens on the subject of an Evening Service in St. John's Church, "*in order to provide increased religious instruction for the Poor,*" and being anxious to carry out to the best of my humble endeavours the principles laid down in the said Memorial, so accordant with the spirit of the Gospel, and so beautifully adapted for all times and places, but peculiarly so for our Parish, in which the proportion of the Inhabitants, who can afford to pay for sittings in Church, is smaller perhaps than in any other Parish in the Metropolis, containing an equally large Population, I now

address you and request, that you will kindly submit to the Vestry, my intention to forego and my wish to give up after next Xtnas, the Fifty Pounds which has been annually paid to me since the year 1834 by successive Churchwardens on account of the Evening Service.—I have to express my earnest hope, that the Vestry will be pleased to give up for the use of the Poor, Pews to that amount at all the Services.—I would respectfully suggest, that no alteration be made in the present rent of the sittings that may still be let, and that a certain number of Pews either in the Gallery or on the ground floor, should be set apart for the Poor. I am persuaded that those Persons who pay for their Sittings will cheerfully continue to pay the same rent as heretofore, when they learn that thereby they contribute to secure for an increased number of their poorer brethren and neighbours, those blessed privileges of religious worship, which they themselves enjoy.—My experience of the kindness and right feeling of the Vestry for so many years encourages me to anticipate its ready and cordial co-operation in providing, as far as circumstances will permit, “*increased religious Instruction for the Poor*” by giving them more accommodation in the Parish Church.

I have the honour, to be, Gentlemen,

Your obedient and faithful servant,

*The Churchwardens of
St. John the Evangelist,
Westminster.*

JOHN JENNINGS,
Rector.

Having found that the additional service on Sundays was inadequate to the growing demands of his parish, the Rector conceived the idea of erecting an additional church, and of obtaining its endowment. He persevered until he obtained his reward in the consecration of the church dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, Tothill-fields, and in the opening of the commodious schools attached thereto.

Impelled by the educational necessities of the poor, incited by the scope for further Church effort in the now teeming population of his parish, and aided by the munificence of individuals, Canon Jennings rejoiced to see the consecration, within the next twenty-five years, of four other churches within his own parish—St. Stephen's, 1847 ; St. Matthew's and Holy Trinity, 1852 ; and St. James the Less, 1861. The Rev. Arthur Warner, M.A., rector of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, who was for some years curate of St. John's, and subsequently vicar of St. Mary's, vincent-

square, thus concisely sums up "the marvellous work accomplished by Archdeacon Jennings during his incumbency of half a century. He found one church, one rector, seldom resident, one curate, and one small Sunday school in a hired room. He left six churches, each with National and Sunday schools, seventeen clergy; while the population had about doubled. It is, I believe, the best record for one life's work, in its own line, that we have."

In July, 1882, on the completion of fifty years' work, the parishioners presented Archdeacon Jennings with a congratulatory testimonial as a token of their unabated esteem and regard, one of the speakers remarking on the occasion that "though all had changed in the parish since the Rector came, his devotion to the parish and his active interest in it, remained unchanged." The aged rector replied with emotion that he had always endeavoured to show that the relation between a rector and his parishioners should be real and true. In referring to the anxieties which the necessities of his densely inhabited parish had caused him, he was not ashamed to recollect that during the building of St. Matthew's Church, he was so overcome by his responsibilities as to retire to his room and find relief in crying. He could express his anxieties to some extent; but his happiness was simply inexpressible when he thought upon what he had assisted in doing in their midst.

"Needs there the praise of the love written record—
The name and the epitaph graved on the stone;
The things he had lived for, let them be our story;
He but remembered by what he has done."

As already stated, Archdeacon Jennings died at 18, Dean's-yard, on 26th March, 1883. On 2nd April his mortal remains were placed in the sacred edifice in which he had so long and so faithfully ministered. Next morning they were borne by way of the West Cloisters to the Choir of the Abbey, where the first part of the funeral service was read by the Dean, the nineteenth psalm being sung to

the music of Purcell, a former resident in the parish. Supporting a small group of mourning relatives were the Rt. Hon. W. H. Smith, M.P. for Westminster, Archdeacon Hessey, Canon Gregory, of St. Paul's, Sir Charles Foster, M.P., Mr. J. G. Talbot, M.P., Sir G. Goldney, M.P., Sir Edmund and Lady Beckett, the Rev. Professor Wace, Sir Henry Hunt, and Mr. ex-Sheriff Burt. The Cathedral clergy were represented by Canons Duckworth, Rowsell, Barry and Prothero, and a large number of the clergy of the Rural Deanery of Westminster, who had assembled in the Jerusalem Chamber, were also present. A numerous deputation from the United Vestries of St. Margaret and St. John the Evangelist attended the service, and the South Transept was specially reserved for the parishioners of St. John's. Upon the conclusion of the preliminary part of the office, the coffin was conveyed by road to Lyne, near Chertsey, for interment in the family vault.

The *Church Times*, of 30th March, 1883, observed that "Archdeacon Jennings was a fervid Evangelical preacher, and whilst exhibiting a Welshman's interest in all which promised to advance the fortunes of natives of the Principality in London, was also much concerned for every enterprise, especially the National Society, which had for its object the training of the young in the principles of the Established Church."

The Times, of 28th March, 1883, concluded its obituary notice by remarking that "the late Canon, who was the patriarch of the Chapter, was a Canon of Westminster before the present Dean (Dr. Bradley) had begun the life of a Rugby schoolboy."

If it be true that "man *is* what he is *in secret*," then the testimony to Archdeacon Jennings' sterling character as a public man, is completely surpassed by the personal knowledge of those who were closely associated with him in the sacred duties of his office. In the long course of his ministry he was assisted by many diligent earnest clergy

who, after gaining experience under his judicious guidance, proceeded in their turn to preferments in different parts of England. Several of these gentlemen have volunteered information with respect to their former Rector and his parish, thus enabling us to see Archdeacon Jennings as he was known to his assistant clergy. As a general representation, the following extract is given from some notes kindly forwarded by the Rev. Gustavus Jones, M.A., Vicar of Christ Church, Forest Hill, who was one of the curates of the parish from 1871 to 1882 :—

In those days the best work of his life was not doing but done, and he looked to his young curates to do what he was too old any longer to do himself, and always willing to remunerate them liberally for doing. My stipend after a very few years was the very liberal one of £200 per annum. To the last the Archdeacon took peculiar interest in the Sunday Schools—constantly opening them himself with prayer on Sunday mornings at 9.30. Among our teachers in my day were Lord and Lady Hatherley, and Mr. W. E. Tomlinson, M.P. The Archdeacon always insisted upon at least *two* curates being present to conduct the weekly Wednesday evening services. I mention this to show in what high regard he held the services of the Church themselves, however poorly attended.

Special facilities were given to the poor to make known their wants to the clergy, it being the custom for one at least of the clergy to attend at the crypt of St. John's daily from 10 a.m. to 11 a.m. to receive all applications for relief and notices of sickness. The poor were encouraged to be particular as to the baptism of their children by one of the clergy attending at the Church from 6 p.m. to 7 p.m. every Wednesday and Friday evening. Baptisms were also performed every Sunday at 5 p.m.

The Archdeacon always kept up friendly intercourse with his old curates, and he never lost his interest in the five daughter churches—St. Stephen, St. Mary, St. James-the-Less, St. Matthew, and Holy Trinity—all of which with their Schools owed their origin to his energy and ability in carrying through difficult schemes which only a stout heart could ever have undertaken at all. Often, he told me, have I laid awake at night wondering how I was to meet this liability and that in connection with the Churches and Schools in one or other of the five daughter parishes; but to his credit, be it said, every difficulty was overcome, and those five district parishes, with the Churches and their Schools, carved out of the original parish of St. John, are standing monuments, far more substantial than the most imposing effigy in Westminster Abbey or St. Paul's, (i.) to the ability of the Archdeacon as an organizer of work and parochial development, and (ii.) to the

deep debt of gratitude due to him from the teeming population of crowded Westminster for increased spiritual opportunities. His treatment of his curates was always that of a perfect gentleman, and he was one of those of whom it has been truly remarked that "the country gentleman forms the basis of the character which the Minister of the Gospel completes."

It was his boast that all his curates got preferment, of which truth I was the last but not least fortunate illustration. The fact was he always availed himself of the earliest opportunity for promoting his own curates ; and his letter to me on my own appointment to a living, certainly is characteristic, and will, I think, be read with interest by many who knew and loved him.

"MY DEAR JONES,

The sentiments contained in your letter are grateful to my feelings. I am very glad that it has been in my power to secure a living for you, as I had always intended to do if I had the opportunity. Deeply sensible of your services at St. John's, I devoutly pray that in your new and laborious sphere of ministerial responsibilities and duties, you may be abundantly blessed in your mission in bringing souls to that Saviour whose ambassador you are. Pray daily more and more for the teachings of The Holy Spirit, to enable you to teach those committed to your oversight. Never look back, but look upward and forward, strong in the Apostolic resolve, "I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me." May you ever have grace to be diligent and faithful in your Master's service, will be the prayer of

Yours sincerely and affectionately,
(Signed) JOHN JENNINGS.

This inadequate tribute to a really good man—to a Rector such as the parish had not previously seen—may be fitly closed by an extract from one of the Rev. George Crabbe's "Letters," published during Archdeacon Jennings' early days:—

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"Few now remember when the mild young man,
Ruddy and fair, his Sunday task began :
Few live to speak of that soft, soothing look
He cast around, as he prepared his book ;
It was a kind of supplicating smile,
But nothing hopeless of applause the while ;
And when he finish'd, his corrected pride
Felt the desert, and yet the praise denied.
Thus he his race began, and to the end
His constant care was, no man to offend.

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But let applause be dealt with all we may,
 Our Priest was cheerful, and, in season, gay ;
 His frequent visits seldom failed to please ;
 Easy himself, he sought his neighbours' ease.
 Kind his opinions ; he would not receive
 An ill report, nor evil act believe.
 " If true, 'twas wrong ; but blemish great or small
 " Have all mankind ; yea sinners are we all."
 If ever fretful thought disturbed his breast,
 If aught of gloom that cheerful mind oppressed,
 It sprang from innovation ; it was then
 He spake of mischief made by restless men ;
 Not by new doctrines : never in his life
 Would he attend to controversial strife ;
 For sects he cared not ; " They are not of us,
 " Nor need we, brethren, their concerns discuss ;
 " But 'tis the change, the schism at home I feel ;
 " Ills few perceive, and none have skill to heal."

Circles in water, as they wider flow
 The less conspicuous in their progress grow ;
 And when at last they touch upon the shore,
 Distinction ceases and they're known no more.
 His love, like that last circle, all embraced,
 And with effect that ne'er can be effaced.

Now rests our Rector. They who knew him best,
 Proclaim his work to have been greatly blest ;
 Ne'er one so old has left this world of sin,
 More like the being that he enter'd in.

A portrait of Archdeacon Jennings, from a photograph by Horatio N. King, of Goldhawk-road, W., is given on the next page. We turn to it with the recollection of Coleridge's estimate of that greatness and goodness, those treasures and friends which this brief sketch of the Archdeacon's career presents to our view:—

Greatness and goodness are not means, but ends !
 Hath he not always treasures, always friends,
 The good great man ? three treasures,—love, and light,
 And calm thoughts, regular as in'ant's breath ;
 And three firm friends, more sure than day and night,—
 Himself, his Maker, and the angel Death.

*John Semmes Rector*

10.—CHARLES WELLINGTON FURSE, M.A.,

The present Rector,

Is the eldest son of Charles William Johnson, of Great Torrington, Devon, Esquire. He was educated at Eton, matriculated from Balliol College, Oxford, 1839, at the age of seventeen, graduating B.A. in 1847, and proceeding M.A. in 1853. He was ordained deacon in 1848 and priest in 1849 by the Bishop of Oxford. He became curate of Clewer, Berks, in 1848; lecturer of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and curate of Christ Church, Albany-street. He assumed the surname of Furse, in lieu of his patronymic, in 1854. He was vicar of Staines, Middlesex, 1863-1873, chaplain to the Bishop of Oxford 1870-1889, and in 1876 became Principal of Cuddesdon College and vicar and Rural Dean of Cuddesdon. He has held an honorary canonry in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, since 1873. He was installed Canon of Westminster, on 19th June, 1883, from which date also his institution to the rectory is calculated, it being held that the installation to the canonry rendered a formal institution to the rectory unnecessary in view of the annexation provided for by the Act of 1840.

Canon Furse married at Bonchurch, Isle of Wight, on 24th February, 1859, Jane Diana, second daughter of the Rev. T. S. B. Monsell, LL.D., vicar of Egham, Surrey.

Canon Furse is the author of:—

1. Sermons preached for the most part in the Churches of St. Mary and St. Matthias, Richmond, Surrey. Oxford [printed] London, 1861, 8vo.
2. The Parish Church and the Parish Priest. London, 1870, 12mo.
3. Helps to Holiness, or rules of fasting, almsgiving and prayer. London, 1873. 2nd Ed. 1875, 8vo.
4. Ritualism; a Paper read before the Clergy of the Rural Deanery, of Westminster, etc., pp. 22. London, 1889, 8vo.

A few words on 'the Rector's rate' may not be without interest in days when, elsewhere in the Metropolis, such objection thereto has been taken as to necessitate the extreme measure of writs of attachment against the mem-

bers of a Vestry, for refusal to levy such a rate as required by law. From 1742 to 1745 the rate was 6d. in the £. In 1747 it was 4d. From 1803 to 1810 it was 2d. It was then applied to the maintenance of the fabric of the church, a course which was stopped by legal advice. In June, 1752, an action of replevin in the King's Bench was brought against the Vestry for illegal distraint in enforcing payment of the rate; but in the following October, as the trial approached, the plaintiff's solicitor prayed the Vestry to stop proceedings upon his payment of all costs incurred. This request was, of course, acceded to. In 1820 a rate of 1d. in the £ was made; in 1845 it was further reduced to five-eighths of a penny, then to thirteen-sixteenths, and other fractional parts of a penny, until in 1865 the increasing rateable value enabled it to be fixed at $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in the £, at which it continued until Archdeacon Jennings' death. It may be added that the present rector, Canon Furse, has, without waiving his legal right, not enforced the provisions of the Act under which the rate is leviable.

Mr. Daniel Hipwell, whose very courteous and painstaking assistance in connection with this and the next chapter is warmly acknowledged, has kindly contributed some additional notes, which have been included in the *Addenda and Corrigenda*.



CHAPTER IV.

THE CURATES AND LECTURERS.

There stands the messenger of Truth ; there stands
The legate of the skies !—His theme divine,
His office sacred, his credentials clear.
By him the violated law speaks out
Its thunders ; and by him, in strains as sweet
As angels use, the Gospel whispers peace.

COWPER.

SO far as the registers and the books under the control of the Vestry enable them to be traced, the following is a complete list of the assistant clergy who have officiated at the parish church, the dates prefixed to the names being the years in which they first appear in the registers:—

1728. THOMAS FITZGERALD ; was admitted to Westminster School, 1710, then aged 15 ; Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge ; B.A., 1717 ; M.A., 1721 ; usher of Westminster School ; instituted rector of Wotton, Surrey, 24th December, 1739, and of Abinger 11th June, 1743, retaining his lectureship at St. John's in conjunction with both these livings. He died in 1752.
1728. THOMAS ROWELL ; of Trinity College, Cambridge, B.A., 1707 ; or Fellow of Corpus Christi College Cambridge ; B.A., 1719 ; M.A., 1723 ; B.D., 1731 ; lecturer of St. Margaret's, Westminster ; died 3rd September, 1737.
1729. EDWARD MOORE.
1733. CHARLES CHURCHILL (Senior).

At the time the parish was formed there were two families of Churchills possessing property in Vine (now Romney) street ; and at the first Vestry meeting, held on 11th March,

1728, Robert Churchill and Thomas Churchill, apparently brothers of Charles Churchill, senior, were present. Thomas died in September, 1736, at which time Charles Churchill had entered upon his curacy in the parish. He had been admitted a pensioner at Trinity College, Cambridge, on 2nd March, 1725-6, but did not graduate. He was appointed Lecturer in 1745, and held both offices in conjunction with the rectory of Rainham, Essex. At a Vestry meeting held one Sunday—it was not uncommon for the Vestry to meet after evening prayers on the Sunday afternoons—Mr. Churchill preferred a complaint against Thomas Le Gros, the parish clerk, of conduct which “highly reflected on the honour of the said Mr. Churchill.” The charge was stoutly denied, upon which the clerk was called upon to answer a second charge “for that he did sett several psalms which were sung in church this day, seeming to justify his past conduct, and to pervert that part of Divine Service to his own wicked purposes.” As the result of the enquiry into this accusation, Le Gros was “by order of the Vestry reprimanded by the rector (Dr. Willes, Dean of Lincoln) and asked pardon on his knees of the Rev. Mr. Churchill in the Vestry-room.” After this condonation, the parish records are silent concerning Mr. Churchill until, on 20th January, 1758-9, they tell of his death, which had taken place on 7th September, 1758.

1737. JOHN WHITFIELD; son of Rev. William Whitfield, of Ludgate, London; admitted to Westminster School, 1718; Christ Church, Oxford, matriculated 6th June, 1722, aged 17; B.A., 1726; M.A., 1728-9; Professor of Poetry at Oxford, 1738-41, proctor, 1739; Rector of Bideford, Devon, 1741 until his death in 1783.

He had great power of writing epigrams, and upon one of the most turbulent of his flock, an illiberal and ignorant Presbyterian apothecary, with whom it was a point of

conscience to oppose the Church of England, he wrote the following:—

Philip of Macedon, 'tis said,
Had every morning when in bed
A page, whose salutation ran,
Remember, Sir, you are a man !
So, if we small with great compare
Our present limping, looby Mayor
Should every morning, night and all,
Have C—— or Jonathan to call
(While each an ear did gently pull)
Remember, Sir, you are a fool !

1738. PETER DURAND.

1745. J—— BUTLER.

1746. CHARLES CHERITON ; admitted to Westminster School, 1735 ; Trinity College, Cambridge, B.A., 1742 ; Chaplain of the *Captain*, 1744.

1748. HENRY EATON ; St. John's College, Cambridge B.A., 1718.

1749. JOHN HOWELL. (*See Addenda and Corrigenda.*)

1758. GEORGE DAVIS, M.A.

1758. THOMAS ATWOOD ; son of the Rev. George Atwood, of Taunton, Somerset ; St. Mary Hall, Oxford, matriculated 14th November, 1738, aged 16 ; B.A., 1742 ; curate and lecturer of St. Margaret's ; Vicar of South Mimms, 1770 ; died 4th December, 1770.

1758. EDWARD SMALLWELL ; son of John Smallwell, of Westminster, gentleman ; Christ Church, Oxford, matriculated 22nd June, 1739, aged 18 ; B.A., 1743 ; M.A., 1746-7 ; B.D., 1755 ; D.D., 1775 ; Bishop of St. David's, 1783-8 ; Bishop of Oxford, 1788 until his death on the 26th June, 1799. He bequeathed £1,000 to Westminster School, where he was educated, and £2,000 to Christ Church, Oxford.

1758. SAMUEL EVANS ; son of Rev. John Evans, of Caermarthen ; Queen's College, Oxford, matriculated 26th February, 1754, aged 18 ; died February, 1768.

1758. CHARLES CHURCHILL, (Junior) ; was born in Vine-

street, in February, 1731, and sent, at eight years of age, to Westminster School, where he was 'admitted' in 1745, being "specially designed" for his father's sacred profession, as the son afterwards expressed it:—

"Bred for the Church, and for the gown decreed,
Ere it was known that I should learn to read."

At school his premature growth and fulness, both of body and mind, soon attracted the attention of masters and boys, among the latter of whom were several who showed remarkable literary taste and strong inclination to 'verse writing' or to yield to 'the rage of the day,' as the cultivation of such tastes was then regarded. When he was fifteen years of age an opportunity presented itself for the display of his precocity by the imposition of a poetical declamation in Latin by way of punishment for some breach of school discipline. He accomplished his task in such a masterly manner as to astonish his masters and delight his school-fellows. Hutton's *Literary Landmarks of London* (1885), quoting Gilfillan's *Life of Churchill*, gives this sketch of the incident:—

"We can fancy the scene at the day of recitation,—the grave and big-wigged schoolmasters looking grimly on, their aspect, however, becoming softer and brighter, as one large hexameter rolls out after another; the strong, awkward, ugly boy unblushingly pouring forth his energetic lines, cheered by the sight of the relaxing gravity of his teachers' looks; while around you see the bashful, tremulous figure of poor Cowper, the small, thin shape and bright eye of Warren Hastings, and the waggish countenance of Colman [the elder], all eagerly watching the recital, and all at last distended and brightened with joy at his signal triumph."

In competition as a candidate for the foundation the lad went in at the head of the list; but on standing for a studentship at Merton College, Oxford, three years later, he failed. A variety of causes have been assigned for this failure, but no one of his critics has been able to conceal his marriage, at this early age, with a Westminster girl named Scott, effected in 1748 through the scandalous facilities of the Fleet. The interval between his rejection and his

ordination (for which he was able to qualify without a degree), was spent partly at his father's house and partly at Sunderland. In 1753, being then twenty-two years old, he returned to London for a time. He took deacon's orders in the same year, went again for a short time to the north, and thence removed to South Cadbury, in Somersetshire, where his father's influence had obtained for him the curacy. Here he stayed nearly three years, until, being ordained priest in 1756, he passed to his father's curacy at Rainham. "His behaviour," says Dr. Kippis, writing in *Biographia Britannica*, "gained him the love and esteem of his parishioners ; . . . What chiefly disturbed him was the smallness of his income." On 7th September, 1758, Churchill's father died, and the parishioners of St. John's, out of respect to the father, secured the appointment of the son to the curacy and lectureship. His return to Westminster revived his former temptations, so that he soon found himself in the midst of embarrassment, with his pride humbled, his credit gone, and the support of good counsellors withdrawn. In this extremity he forsook his wife and abandoned his profession, the latter step being hastened, in all probability, by remonstrances from his parishioners upon his having exchanged the distinctive clerical attire for a blue coat with metal buttons, a gold-laced waistcoat, and a gold-laced hat, and ruffles.

His letter of resignation was as follows:—

SIR.—I take this opportunity of acquainting you with my intention of quitting the Lectureship of St. John's, which I should be glad if you would, with the first convenience, communicate to the Gentlemen of the Vestry.

As my stay here is very uncertain, the sooner the vacancy is fill'd up the more convenient it will be to me. If you will be so kind to let me know when the Vestry meets, I shall take that opportunity of paying my respects to them in person, if possible ; if not, by letter.

I am,

Your very humble servant,

CHARLES CHURCHILL.

January the 4th, 1763.

On 10th January, 1763, he wrote to the Vestry:—

GENTLEMEN,

Your unanimous appointment of me to the Lectureship of St. John's on the death of my Father, and the continuance of your favours since that time, demand my warmest acknowledgements and sincerest thanks. These I should have been happy to have made in person had I not been unexpectedly prevented, but shall take this opportunity of declaring with what a grateful sense I recognise the favours of the whole parish in general, and of the gentlemen of the Vestry in particular, and how much, although removed from them, I shall ever esteem their favours, and remain their much obliged and very humble servant,

Charles Churchill.

A tutorship which he had obtained in a young ladies' seminary, at Queen-square, Bloomsbury, with a view to augment his income, was also relinquished, while the Beef-steak Club, into which he had been received on the nomination of John Wilkes, disgusted at his treatment of his wife, and at his relations with a Miss Carr, the daughter of a respectable sculptor, of Westminster, whom he had seduced, forced him to resign his membership.

By this time he had given himself almost exclusively to the production of satirical verse for which, however, he was unable, at first to find a place in the market, and in which, too, he narrowly escaped a prosecution for libel contained in *The Conclave*, a satire aimed at the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. After two months' close attendance at the theatres, he wrote his *Rosciad*; and, undaunted by continued refusals by the booksellers, took the risk of printing and publishing it. In this he made such 'a palpable hit,' that its pungency and humour, and its rude free daring were the talk of every London coffee-house within a few days of its appearance. The success in a pecuniary sense was no less; "the pulpit had starved him on forty pounds a year; the public had given him a thousand pounds in two months." Every man of whom he had

borrowed was now repaid with interest, and his creditors, with whom he had compromised at five shillings in the pound a short time previously, were now surprised to receive the remaining fifteen shillings. With his name thus established, he sold ten of his sermons preached in St. John's for £250. The success of his following publications was marred by his active association with the notorious John Wilkes; yet amongst those who did not concern themselves with the private morals of public men, he became a popular man. Meanwhile his private life went on in all its dissipation, until a sudden desire to see Wilkes took him hastily to Boulogne on the 22nd October, 1764. Here, within a week, he was overtaken by a fever which baffled the skill of the physicians for a few days, and proved fatal on 4th November, he being then in his thirty-third year. By his will he left an annuity of £60 to his wife, another annuity of £50 to the girl who had lived under his protection, and he made provision for his two boys. In accordance with his wish his body was brought to England and laid in the old churchyard which once belonged to the collegiate church of St. Martin at Dover—

“So may he rest:

His faults lie gently on him!”

“HENRY VIII.”

Boswell mentions that Johnson “talked very contemptuously of Churchill’s poetry, observing that it had a temporary currency only from its audacity of abuse, and being filled with living names, and that it would sink into oblivion. I ventured to hint (writes Boswell) that he was not quite a fair judge, as Churchill had attacked him violently.” *Johnson*: “Nay, sir, I am a very fair judge. He did not attack me violently till he found I did not like his poetry; and his attack on me shall not prevent me from continuing to say what I think of him, from an apprehension that it may be ascribed to resentment. No, sir, I called the fellow a blockhead at first, and I will call him a

blockhead still. However, I will acknowledge that I have a better opinion of him now than I once had; for he has shown more fertility than I expected. To be sure, he is a tree that cannot produce good fruit: he only bears crabs. But, sir, a tree that produces a great many crabs is better than a tree which produces only a few."

In a sermon preached at the Church on 18th December, 1881, by the Rev. William Benham, B.D., then vicar of Marden, formerly assistant master of the Bluecoat School, and now rector of St. Edmund the King, with St. Nicholas Acons, London, and Hon. Canon of Canterbury, he remarked:—

I might linger still over the records of this church, over the days when Charles Churchill was its minister, profligate of life, violent in his animosities, bitter in his satires. Think what a contrast, for example, between those times and these. He is conducting a funeral in the Horseferry Road burying-ground, is jeered at by a bystander who has seen him at his orgies the night before, throws off his surplice and fights him then and there in the street, and beats him. Yet not *all* bad. His own conscience bade him, at least, presently give up his sacred functions. And when his political friends came into power, and he might have received some rich preferment, the same conscience was strong enough to keep him from the wickedness of putting on his surplice and gown again. He would not so prostitute the ministry of God; a faithful reflex of some good in ungodly and profligate times.

The late Rev. Joseph Maskell, master and chaplain of Emanuel Hospital, in his *Westminster in relation to Literature* (1880) thus refers to Churchill:—

His life affords a melancholy instance of an utterly mistaken vocation. He would seem to have been forced by his family into a profession for which he had no love, and for which he was in every way unfit. He succeeded his father as curate of St. John's, and for some time observed the outward duties of his calling with decorum, acquiring considerable reputation as a preacher. He married, and took to literature in order to increase his limited income. His vein was satire, a kind of writing which, in the hands of a sincere and generous-minded man, anxious for the benefit of his fellows, and no misanthrope, has always been productive of great public good. Popular abuses, evil manners and customs, are more likely to be amended by means of skilfully directed satire than in any other way. But satire which is inspired by a sense of personal injustice and the envy of others is an unworthy and purposeless weapon. A good deal of Churchill's satire is of this character. He offended his much-enduring parishioners, his bishop, and patrons, by conduct utterly unbecoming, I will not

merely say the *clerical*, but the *Christian* profession ; for the Christian layman has no right to a standard of morals lower than that of the clergyman ! But Churchill had no sense of decency ; after staining his cloth with every vice, he turned round to attack his clerical brethren and others in satire, devoting the rest of his life to a bitter and remorseless ridicule of his fellow-men. The Dean and Chapter of Westminster, Dr. Johnson, and Bishop Warburton, were his pet aversions. It is impossible to read Churchill's poetry without feeling that he had considerable genius, and that he might have done better even as a satirist if he had written less, and with less personal animosity. But he wrote for bread ; his pen was always obliged to be in his hand, and his satire trenchant and forcible, in order to attract attention. He was popular in his day, and will probably never entirely lose his place in literature. It is sad, however, to think of fine talents misapplied, and golden opportunities thrown away.

The Rev. George Gilfillan, in his *Life of Churchill*, asserts that "in him we find a signal specimen of a considerable class of writers concerning whom Goldsmith's words are true :—

‘Who born for the universe, narrow’d their mind,
And to party gave up what was meant for mankind.’

"We must approach his grave as men do those of Burns and Byron, with sorrow, wonder, admiration and blame, blended into one strange, complex, and yet not unnatural emotion. Robust manhood, honesty, and hatred of pretence we admit him to have possessed ; but of genuine love to humanity he seems to have been as destitute as of fear of God or regard for the ordinary moralities."

"In taking leave of him we are again haunted by the signal resemblance he bears, both in mental character and in history, to Byron. Both were powerful in satire, and still more so in purely poetic composition. Both were irregular in life and unfortunate in marriage. Both assumed an attitude of defiance to the world and stood ostentatiously at bay. Both felt and expressed keen remorse for their errors, and purposed, and in part began, reformation. Both died at an untimely age, by fever, and in a foreign land. The dust of both, not admitted into Westminster Abbey, nevertheless reposes in their native soil, and attracts daily

visitors who lean and weep and wonder over it—partly in sympathy with their fate—partly in pity for their errors—and partly in admiration for their genius.”

Churchill's connection with St. John's had enabled him to obtain an insight into parochial life and administration, which he thus unsparingly satirised in his *Ghost* (Book IV.):—

“Constables, whom the laws admit
To keep the peace by breaking it ;
Beadles, who hold the second place,
By virtue of a silver mace,
Which every Saturday is drawn,
For use of Sunday, out of pawn ;
Treasurers, who with empty key
Secure an empty treasury ;
Churchwardens, who their course pursue
In the same state, as to *their* pew
Churchwardens of St. Margaret's go,
Since Peirson * taught them pride and show ;
Who in short transient pomp appear
Like almanacks, changed every year ;
Behind whom, with unbroken locks,
Charity carries the poor's box,
Not knowing that with private keys
They ope and shut it when they please ;
Overseers, who by frauds ensure
The heavy curses of the poor ;
Unclean come flocking, bulls and bears,
Like beasts into the ark, by pairs.”

In his dedication to Dr. Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, to which allusion has already been made, Churchill refers to the congregation of St. John's:—

“Much did I wish, e'en whilst I kept those sheep
Which, for my curse, I was ordain'd to keep,
Ordain'd alas ! to keep through need, not choice,
Those sheep which never heard their shepherd's voice ;
Which did not know, yet would not learn their way :
Which stray'd themselves, yet grieved that I should stray ;

* Samuel Peirson was Churchwarden of St. Margaret's, 1749-53, in which period a prosecution was brought against him and his colleague for suffering the painted window to be placed at the east end of St. Margaret's Church. The trial ended in favour of the parish, in commemoration of which Mr. Peirson gave a large cup and cover in silver gilt, weighing 93 oz. 15 dwt, now known as “the Churchwardens' Loving Cup.”

Those sheep which my good father (on his bier
 Let filial duty drop the pious tear)
 Kept well, yet starved himself; e'en at that time
 Whilst I was pure and innocent of rhyme;
 Whilst, sacred dulness ever in my view,
 Sleep at my bidding crept from pew to pew,
 Much did I wish, though little could I hope,
 A friend in him who was the friend of Pope."

Nearly twenty years after Churchill's death, his delicate school-fellow at Westminster, Cowper, portrayed him in *Table Talk* in the following lines, with which this fragment must close:—

"Contemporaries all surpass'd, see one;
 Short his career indeed, but ably run;
 Churchill, himself unconscious of his powers,
 In penury consumed his idle hours;
 And, like a scattered seed at random sown,
 Was left to spring by vigour of his own.
 Lifted at length, by dignity of thought
 And dint of genius, to an affluent lot,
 He laid his head in luxury's soft lap,
 And took too often there his easy nap.
 If brighter beams than all he threw not forth,
 'Twas negligence in him, not want of worth.
 Surly and slovenly, and bold and coarse,
 Too proud for art, and trusting in mere force,
 Spendthrift alike of money and of wit,
 Always at speed, and never drawing bit,
 He struck the lyre in such a careless mood,
 And so disdain'd the rules he understood,
 The laurel seem'd to wait on his command;
 He snatched it rudely from the muses' hand."

1762. JOSHUA KYTE; son of William Kyte, of Shireborn, Gloucestershire, gentleman; admitted to Westminster School, 1739 (*see p. 32*); Christ Church, Oxford, matriculated 1st June, 1743, aged 18; B.A., 1747; M.A., 1751; B.D. and D.D., 1765; usher of Westminster School, 1751-64; rector of Wendlebury, Oxfordshire, 1764, and of Swynecombe, 1787, until his death at Cheltenham, 28th November, 1788.*

* Welch's *Alumni Westmonasterienses*, ed. Phillimore, 1852, p. 328, erroneously states that Dr. Kyte was *Rector* of St. John, Westminster, 1758.

1762. TALBOT KEENE ; Trinity College, Cambridge, B.A., 1761 ; M.A., 1770 ; vicar of Brigstock, Northamptonshire, 1773 ; rector of Tadmerton, Oxfordshire, 1788. He died at Limehouse in June, 1824, aged 89 years.
1762. VINCENT HOTCHKISS ; son of Rev. Thomas Hotchkiss, of Montsley, Salop ; Balliol College, Oxford, matriculated 20th April, 1722, aged 16 ; B.A., 1726.
1767. THOMAS BENNETT ; admitted to Westminster School 1758, aged 14 ; Trinity College, Cambridge, B.A., 1766 ; M.A., 1769 ; D.D., 1801 ; minor canon of Westminster, 1782, and of St. Paul's, 1783 ; vicar of High and Good Easter, and of Tillingham, Essex, 1797 ; Minister of Highgate Chapel, Middlesex, for many years ; published "Twelve Lectures on the Apostles' Creed, delivered in the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster," London, 1775, 8vo. He died at Highgate 24th August, 1816, in his 74th year, and was buried in the Old Chapel there.
1769. AUGUSTUS MONTAGUE TOPLADY ; born at Farnham, Surrey, 1740 ; educated at Westminster School ; B.A., Trinity College, Dublin, 1760 ; vicar of Broad Hembury, Devonshire ; celebrated in his time as a Calvinistic divine, and an acute disputant, and honoured to the present day throughout the Christian Church as the author of "Rock of Ages." He died 11th August, 1778, and was buried at Whitefield's Tabernacle, in the Tottenham-court-road.
1774. WILLIAM M. POW.
1775. CHARLES MANNING ; of Caius College, Cambridge, B.A., 1735 ; incorporated at Oxford, 16th April, 1741.
1775. GILES POWELL ; of Trinity College, Dublin, B.A., 1761 ; rector of Acrise, Kent, for the space of 40

years. He died suddenly in Northamptonshire in October, 1825, in his 88th year.

1776. J—— DOWNES.

1776. JOHN HISCOX. Died at Dartford, Kent, 17th February, 1789.

1789. CHRISTOPHER SCOTT ; of Queen's College, Cambridge, B.A., 1761 ; M.A., 1764.

1802. RICHARD GLOVER ; of St. John's College, Cambridge, B.A., 1767, M.A., 1771 ; instituted to the vicarage of Dagenham, Essex, 13th June, 1811. Died at Ilford, June, 1824.

1805. WILLIAM DAVIS, B.A. (See *corrigenda*).

1805. THOMAS LONGLANDS ; of Trinity College, Cambridge ; B.A., 1801 ; M.A., 1804 ; vicar of Porchester, Hants, 1806 ; Vicar of Great Camfield, Essex, 1810 ; vicar of Damerham, Wilts, 1822 ; died 1856.

1810. D'ARCY HAGGITT ; Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge ; B.A., 1796 ; M.A., 1800 ; instituted to the vicarage of Pershore, St. Andrew, Worcestershire, 10th May, 1825 ; died at Bruges, 1850.

1810. JOHNSON ATKINSON BUSFIELD ; of Clare College, Cambridge ; B.A., 1796 ; M.A., 1800 ; D.D., 1812 ; instituted to the rectory of St. Michael, Woodstreet, London, 4th May, 1821 ; died 1849, aged 73.

1817. CHARLES WODSWORTH ; of Pembroke College, Cambridge, B.A. 1814 ; M.A., 1817 ; rector of Ingoldesthorpe, Norfolk, 1826 ; prebendary of Portpool in St. Paul's Cathedral, 1828 ; vicar of Hardingstone, Northamptonshire, 1834 ; vicar of Audley, Staffordshire, 1842, and chaplain to Viscount Palmerston. Mr. Wodsworth died 28th March, 1844.

1818. WILLIAM JOHNSON. Two contemporary clergymen of this name have been traced—the first of St. John's College, Cambridge, B.A., 1791 ; the second

- of St. Alban Hall, Oxford, B.A., 1803; M.A., 1821; instituted to the rectory of St. Clement, Eastcheap, 19th October, 1820; vicar of Mottram, Cheshire, 1826. Died 2nd December, 1840, aged 72. No reliable information is obtainable as to which of these two gentlemen held the curacy of St. John's.
1818. WILLIAM JOHNSON RODBER; curate of St. Margaret's; rector of St. Mary-at-Hill, London, 7th October, 1825; died 1843, aged 53.
1819. GEORGE STOKES; of Trinity Hall, Cambridge; LL.B., 1812; Vicar-General to the Bishop of Killala. Died, July, 1833. (This gentleman and his immediate predecessor severally signed the Registers as "Officiating Minister").
1825. JOSHUA NUSSEY; of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge; B.A., 1822; M.A., 1825; instituted to the rectory of Poughill, Devonshire, 22nd March, 1837; vicar of Oundle, Northamptonshire, 1845.
1831. HENRY ATCHESON; of Jesus College, Cambridge; M.B., 1823; M.L., 1825; ordained deacon, 1828, priest, 1830; instituted to the vicarage of Kingsbury, Middlesex, 20th December, 1833.
1832. JENKIN HUGHES; fourth son of — Hughes of Lledrod, Cardiganshire, gentleman; of Jesus College, Oxford, matriculated 24th June, 1824, aged 22; B.A., 1828; M.A., 1831; master of Abergavenny Grammar School, 1828-32; vicar of Alconbury, Hunts, 1838, until his death on the 23rd April, 1870.
1835. PHILIP PARKER GILBERT; of Magdalene College, Cambridge; B.A., 1835; M.A., 1839; ordained deacon, 1835, and priest, 1837, by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol; vicar of St. Mary's, Haggerston; rector of St. Augustine with St. Faith, London, 1853-7; vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate, 1857-1886.

1837. HENRY LLOYD OSWELL ; third son of Rev. Thomas Oswell, of Westbury, Salop ; of Christ Church, Oxford, matriculated 10th November, 1831, aged 18 ; B.A., 1835 ; M.A., 1838 ; incumbent of Stoulton, Worcestershire, 1843-51 ; vicar of Leighton, Salop, 1851-9 ; incumbent of Bobbington, Staffordshire and Salop, 1859-62 ; vicar of St. George's, Shrewsbury, 1866-72 ; rector of Llandinabo, Herefordshire, 1872-88 ; living 1892.
1838. THOMAS STONE ; of St. John's College, Cambridge ; B.A., 1829 ; M.A., 1834 ; admitted *ad eundem* at Oxford 26th January, 1837 ; curate of Felstead, Essex. Died 12th March, 1850.
1839. ABRAHAM BORRADAILE ; eldest son of Abraham Borradaile, of Clapham ; of Christ Church, Oxford ; matriculated 25th October, 1832, aged 18 ; B.A., 1836 ; M.A., 1839 ; vicar of St. Mary's, Tothillfields, 1841, until his death on 30th January, 1873.
1839. GEORGE FRANCE ; second son of William Beckwith France, of Hammersmith ; of Exeter College, Oxford ; matriculated 23rd January, 1834, aged 18 ; B.A., 1837 ; M.A., 1840 ; rector and patron of Brockdish, Norfolk, 1842 ; living 1892.
1840. WILLIAM TENNANT ; of Trinity College, Cambridge ; B.A., 1836 ; M.A., 1839 ; first vicar of St. Stephen's, Westminster, 1847, until his death in 1880.
1840. FREDERICK STYLE ; second son of Thomas Style, of Thames Ditton ; of St. John's College, Oxford ; matriculated 30th April, 1834, aged 18 ; B.A., 1838 ; M.A., 1841 ; Head-master of Thames Ditton School ; vicar of Leigh, Surrey, 1878, until his death on 2nd January, 1884.
1840. JAMES BANDINEL ; only son of James Bandinel, of Chelsea ; of Wadham College, Oxford ; matriculated 30th March, 1833, aged 18 ; B.A., 1836 ; M.A.

- 1844; vicar of Cogges, Oxford, 1856-62; rector of Elmley (or Emly), Yorkshire, 1863-81; living 1892.
1843. HENRY STRETTON; eldest son of Henry Stretton, of St. Luke's, Middlesex, gentleman; of Magdalen College, Oxford; matriculated 24th April, 1839, aged 24; B.A., 1843; M.A., 1846; Head-master of St. Alban's Grammar School, 1866-70; vicar of Eastville, Lincolnshire, 1876; joint author with the Rev. Sir W. H. Cope, Bart., of *Visitatio Infirmorum* 'Offices for the Clergy,' etc., 3 editions, 1848.
1843. WILLIAM JEPHSON; of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; B.A., 1841; M.A., 1847; rector of Hinton-Waldrist, Berkshire, 1853-80; Diocesan inspector of schools, Diocese of Oxford, 1856-76; Rural Dean of Vale of White Horse, 1876-7; chaplain at Geneva, 1877-81; living 1892.
1846. JAMES LANGTON WIGLESWORTH; of Magdalene College, Cambridge; B.A., 1846; M.A., 1850; curate of Hanslope-with-Castlethorpe, Buckinghamshire, 1869.
1847. CHARLES FELTON SMITH; of Queen's College, Cambridge; B.A., 1839; M.A., 1854; domestic Chaplain to Viscount Combermere, 1840; incumbent of St. John's, Pendlebury, 1843; vicar of Crediton, Devon, 1854; prebendary of Exeter, 1856; living 1892.
1849. ALFRED JONES; of King's College, London; Theological Associate, 1849; created B.D. by Archbishop of Canterbury, 1877; chaplain of Aske's Hospital, 1854-74; secretary of the Sunday Rest Association, 1860-76; vicar of Carrington, Cheshire, 1877-82.
1849. WILLIAM HENRY DAVIES; chaplain of St. George's Hospital, 1859. (See *corrigenda*.)

1849. JOHN BACK ; second son of John Back, of St. Giles, Cripplegate ; of Trinity College, Oxford ; matriculated 19th May, 1845, aged 18 ; B.A., 1849 ; M.A., 1852 ; rector of St. George-the-Martyr, Bloomsbury, 1858-77 ; vicar of Horsell, Surrey, 1878-84. Died in August, 1891, and was buried at Horsell.
1853. LAURENCE WILLIAM TILL ; eldest son of Richard Till, of Clapham, gentleman ; of Pembroke College, Oxford ; matriculated 16th November, 1848, aged 20 ; B.A., 1852 ; M.A., 1856 ; vicar of Chertsey, 1857-73 ; and of St. Paul's, East Moulsey, 1873, until his death, 6th October, 1878.
1854. HENRY EDMUND PHILLIPS ; vicar of Christ Church, Leeds, 1859 ; died 15th June, 1859, aged 28.
1854. WILLIAM HENRY TURLE. (See "St. Matthew's, Great Peter-street," Chapter VIII.)
1859. HENRY WARWICK HUNT ; of Trinity College, Cambridge ; B.A., 1858 ; M.A., 1861 ; curate of St. Anne's, Soho ; rector of Steppingley, Bedfordshire, 1869-70 ; now, and since 1872, rector of Shermanbury, Sussex.
1865. GEORGE MILLER. (See "Holy Trinity, Bessborough Gardens," Chapter VIII.)
1866. ARTHUR GEORGE WARNER ; second son of George Warner, of Hornsey ; of Christ Church, Oxford ; matriculated 3rd June, 1857, aged 19 ; B.A., 1861 ; M.A., 1865 ; vicar of St. Mary's, Tothill-fields, 1873-87 ; now, and since 1887, rector of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside.
1871. HENRY HUGH BEAMS PAULL ; eldest son of Henry Andrew Paull, of Doctors' Commons ; of Magdalen Hall, Oxford ; matriculated 10th May, 1845, aged 25.
1871. GUSTAVUS JOHN JONES ; of St. John's College, Cambridge ; B.A., 1871 ; M.A., 1874 ; now, and since 1882, vicar of Christ Church, Forest Hill.

1873. HENRY DEALTRY THOMAS; eldest son of the Rev. Henry Thomas, of Calcutta; of Wadham College, Oxford; matriculated 13th October, 1866, aged 19; B.A., 1870; M.A., 1873; vicar of Longdon, Worcestershire, 1885.
1881. FRANK CHARLES JARVIS (now ARNOLD-JARVIS); of Trinity College, Dublin; B.A., 1880; M.A., 1883; curate of Ealing, 1883-6; of Petersham, 1886-91; and since 1891 of Worlabye, Lincoln.
1882. CHARLES REEVE TAYLOR of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; B.A. and LL.B., 1868; M.A., 1872; curate of St. Peter's, Berkhamstead, 1869-71; of Southwell, 1874-5; of Christ Church, Ealing, 1875-7; St. Luke, Kentish Town, 1878-9; acting-chaplain to the Forces, at Aldershot, 1879-80; St. Saviour, Hoxton, 1880-81; lecturer in Public Reading and Speaking, King's College, since 1887.
1883. J—— H—— FRANKLYN.
1883. HOWARD GURNEY DANIELL-BAINBRIDGE; third son of Richard Percival Daniell, of London; of Trinity College, Oxford; matriculated 18th October, 1875, aged 17; B.A., 1878; M.A., 1882; of Cuddesdon Theological College, 1879; curate of Shepton-Beauchamp, Somerset, 1880-83; now, and since 1890, Minor Canon and Sacrist of Westminster Abbey.
1883. HENRY MAITLAND ELLIS; second son of Rev. Phillip Constable Ellis, of Penmon, Anglesey; of Worcester College, Oxford; matriculated 15th October, 1878, aged 18; B.A., 1881; M.A., 1885; curate of Moordown, Hampshire, 1885-7, and since 1887 curate of Beaulieu, Hampshire.
1883. EDMUND GEORGE LIONEL MOWBRAY; third son of Sir John Robert Mowbray, Bart., of Mortimer, Berkshire; of New College, Oxford; matriculated 11th October, 1878, aged 19; B.A., 1882; M.A., 1885; curate of St. Bartholomew, Dover, 1887-90; now, and since 1890, rector of Durley, Hampshire.

1884. GEORGE HERBERT DAWSON DAVIES; of Jesus College, Cambridge, and Cuddesdon Theological College; curate of All Saints, Shrewsbury, 1882-4, of the Holy Redcemer, Clerkenwell, 1886-8, and of Kelsale, Suffolk, 1888.
1885. ERNEST AUSTIN HAMMICK; fifth son of Rev. Sir Vincent Love Hammick, Bart., of Milton Abbott, Devonshire; of Exeter College, Oxford; matriculated 18th May, 1869, aged 19; B.A., 1873; M.A., 1876; rector of Forrabury and of Minster, Cornwall, 1877-85; archdeacon of Zululand, 1886-9; living, 1892.
1886. GEORGE NAPIER; seventh son of Rev. Charles Walter Albyn Napier, rector of Wiston, Sussex; of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford; matriculated 7th February, 1878, aged 18; B.A., 1881; M.A., 1889; curate of St. John, Truro, 1882-5, and of St. Mary, Truro, 1885-6; now vicar designate of St. Mary's, Tothill-fields.
1887. BERNARD WILKINSON; second son of Rev. John Bourdieu Wilkinson, of Westminster; of Lincoln College, Oxford, matriculated 29th January, 1879, aged 18; B.A., 1882; M.A., 1887.
1888. JOHN PRIMATT MAUD, Junr.; son of Rev. John Primatt Maud, Vicar of Ancaster, Lincolnshire; of Keble College, Oxford; matriculated 14th October, 1879, aged 19; B.A., 1883; M.A., 1887; vicar of Chapel Allerton, Yorkshire, since 1890.
1890. FRANCIS ROBINSON PHELPS; eldest son of Rev. Joseph Francis Phelps, of Newfoundland; of Keble College, Oxford; matriculated 18th December, 1882, aged 19; B.A., 1886; M.A., 1889; curate of St. Philip's, Battersea, 1887-90.
1891. HENRY EDEN OLIVIER; third son of Rev. Dacres Olivier, rector of Wilton, Wilts; of New College, Oxford; matriculated 16th January, 1887, aged 18; B.A., 1889.

CHAPTER V.

THE BURIAL GROUND.

“ Let’s talk of graves, and worms, and epitaphs.”

“ RICHARD II.”

“ Who hath not loitered in a green churchyard,
And let his spirit like a demon-mole,
Work through the clayey soil and gravel hard,
To see skull, coffin bones, and funeral stole ;
Pitying each form that hungry Death hath marred,
And filling it once more with human soul ?”

KEATS.

Purchase of Site.—Fees.—Torchlight funerals.—Overcrowded condition.—Proposed enlargement.—Ground raised.—Enlargement.—Closed by Order in Council.—Claims by the Rectors.—“ Body-snatching.”—Conversion of the ground into a Public Garden.—Burial Registers.—Longevity.

IMMEDIATELY after the Church had been opened for public worship, the Vestry appointed a Committee “to consider several pieces of ground offered as proper for cemeteries.” Their report, presented to the Vestry in April, 1729, recommended a site in Wood-street, with a passage into North-street, the property of Mr. Henry Smith, from whom the site of the Church had been purchased. Without further communication with the Vestry, the Commissioners acquired a small plot of ground in the Horseferry-road, which was in due course laid out, though it was not enclosed for more than twenty years afterwards. In July, 1731, the Vestry petitioned the Dean and Chapter “to get the burying ground consecrated,” and to approve of a table of fees proposed to be charged. The ceremony was performed on 29th July by Dr. Wilcocks, Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Gloucester, who was translated to Rochester the same year. The apparitor’s bill of fees and costs incidental to the occasion amounted to £16 10s. 2d.

In the first list of fees an extra charge of five shillings was prescribed for all interments after ten o'clock at night. Subsequently (in 1748) this extra fee was imposed upon funerals taking place after nine o'clock. Orders were also passed prohibiting interments after midnight, and directing that mourners' lights should not be taken into the church. These were the days in which the custom of lying in state and burial by torchlight was general among the well-to-do. The bodies of merchants and tradesmen were laid among black velvet hangings, with wax candles around the coffin, and the houses were left open for the admission of the neighbours to the chamber of death. Besides the "searchers," who were appointed by the parish authorities to see that the body bore no marks of foul play, "the plumper" was called in "to bedizen the body,* and to make what the ladies used to call 'a charming corpse.'" Torchlight funerals, to which Pope refers in the well known lines:—

When Hopkins dies, a thousand lights attend
The wretch who, living, saved a candle's end—

were continued in St. John's until late in the last century. As many as thirty men were sometimes employed to assist at one of these dismal pomps, and more than half a hundred weight of wax candles, which then cost three shillings per pound, were used at one procession. It was also considered a breach of decorum for any mourner to appear at a funeral without a sprig of rosemary. Irrespective of the searchers' fees, which varied from 2s. 6d. to 7s. 6d. each, and exclusive of the undertaker's proper charges, the cost of this melancholy display was often as much as £12 or £15. A striking contrast to this ostentation is furnished by an order of the Vestry, that the bearers should not wear their silk bands at pauper funerals, and that the pall to be used on such occasions should be of cloth instead of velvet, and inscribed with the words,

* The Oxford and Cambridge Monthly Miscellany, September, 1750.

"Buried at the expense of the Parish." This stigma was removed in 1807.

The Commissioners had so underestimated the mortality of the parish, that within twenty years from the consecration the overcrowded condition of the burial ground became the cause of much anxiety. A proposal to enlarge the area by acquiring a piece of land on the west side had to be abandoned in consequence of the exorbitant price, and the deposit of three feet of earth over the whole site, at a cost of £125, was accepted as a remedy. Seven years later (1758) the process of 'raising' had to be repeated, though the expense was less, owing to a large quantity of mould and rubbish being available from the excavation in connection with extensive alterations then being made at St. Margaret's Church. The fees were also raised at this time with the view of reducing the number of interments. A further increase of charges was resorted to in 1784, when it was reported that the ground was "exceedingly full, owing to the low fees attracting interments from other parishes." A brick wall was erected in this year to enclose and embank the ground. Between 1803 and 1823, many entries tell of the troubles occasioned by the extent to which the death-rate had overgrown the small burial ground. One report declares "the uppermost corps to be scarcely more than two feet below the surface," and records an unsuccessful attempt to induce Lord Grosvenor to sell "a part of the fields adjoining the present burial ground;" another minute records yet a further "raising of the ground" at a cost of £265, besides £24 for beer for the men. Then follows an order that the fees be quadrupled; but this expedient having failed, an urgent report was presented to the effect "that the part of the ground allotted for the poor is buried all over four or five deep; that 5,126 graves had been dug in ten years; that 5 or 6 coffins are placed in every grave where eight feet in depth can be obtained, and that many of the bodies are less than two feet from the surface"!

With this impartial and indisputable testimony before us, the description in *Bleak House* of the burial, in just such another place, of the unknown man, who was very good to Jo, which we might have regarded as being severely drawn, recalls itself with realistic accuracy :—

Then the active and intelligent (beadle), who has got into the morning papers as such, comes with his pauper company to Mr. Krook's, and bears off the body of our dear brother here departed, to a hemmed-in churchyard, pestiferous and obscene, whence malignant diseases are communicated to the bodies of our dear brothers and sisters who have not departed ; while our dear brothers and sisters who hang about official back-stairs—would to Heaven they had departed !—are very complacent and agreeable. Into a beastly scrap of ground which a Turk would reject as a savage abomination, and a Caffre would shudder at, they bring our dear brother here departed, to receive Christian burial.

With houses looking on, on every side, save where a reeking little tunnel of a court gives access to the iron gate—with every villany of life in action close on death, and every poisonous element of death in action close on life—here, they lower our dear brother down a foot or two : here, sow him in corruption, to be raised in corruption : an avenging ghost at many a sick-bedside : a shameful testimony to future ages, how civilization and barbarism walked this boastful island together.

In 1823, Lord Grosvenor relieved the parish from its discreditable position by surrendering a plot of land adjoining the original ground, upon payment of £2,050, or 25 years' purchase, the compensation for the leasehold interests being fixed by arbitration at £2,258. This additional space was consecrated on 23rd June, 1823, immediately upon which the "poor" ground was closed entirely against further interments. By this time the number of military funerals had become considerable, owing to the existence of the three soldiers' hospitals in the parish ; yet in September, 1853, when the new ground had been in constant requisition for thirty years, the Vestry offered the strongest possible resistance to Lord Palmerston's proposal to close the entire ground against further burials. His Lordship replied, however, that "the ground had had deposited in it about six times the number of bodies it was properly fit to hold, and

had become a great public nuisance." The closing Order was issued on 31st October, 1853. A loss to the revenue of the Church of £240 followed, in consequence of which the salaries of all the Church officers were reduced, and other economies adopted.

In 1771 the Rector, the Rev. Joseph Sims, claimed the ground as his glebe, and alleged that he was entitled to receive all moneys paid to the Churchwardens for grave-stones, vaults, herbage, etc. Seven years later, Dr. Blair, who had succeeded Mr. Sims in the rectory, asserted a similar claim. To both these pretensions the Vestry, after having consulted counsel, offered a resolute resistance, in consequence of which nothing more was heard of the subject. (*See page 68.*)

Readers of Dickens's *Tale of Two Cities* will recollect the skilful pourtrayal of the "Resurrection-man" in the character of Jerry Cruncher, the messenger at Tellson's, who, as "a honest tradesman, accustomed to make his way quietly," supplemented the income of his position by "going afishing" with a sack, a convenient crowbar, a rope, and some chain as his tackle. When challenged with having "an unlawful occupation, of an infamous description," Cruncher described himself as "an agricultural character" and pleaded that "wot with undertakers, wot with parish clerks, wot with sextons, and wot with private watchmen (all awaricious and all in it) a man wouldn't get much by it even if it was so."

The abominable offence of stealing dead bodies for dissection, which is said to have commenced in the autumn of 1777, at the burial ground of St. George's Church, Bloomsbury, soon gave rise to trouble in St. John's. In 1781, the Vestry appointed two watchmen for night duty, to prevent such outrages; subsequently they presented a petition to Parliament calling attention to the necessity of better securing burial grounds and of the "more effectual punishment of violators of the rights of sepulture." As the offence became less prevalent, the watchmen were dispensed with;

but one morning in November, 1814, a spade, a sack, and a great coat being found upon the ground, led to the inference that thieves had been disturbed at the commencement of their operations. The watchmen were thereupon reinstated, armed with pistols, and supplied with powder and ball for their protection, the brick wall was raised, and a dwarf wall, with tall iron railings and gates, was erected at the Horseferry-road front. All these precautions were of little avail, however, as two men and a woman were shortly afterwards detected in the act of disinterring a body. They were all three convicted and sentenced to hard labour, after which there is no record of a repetition of the outrage.

This is somewhat remarkable in view of the extent to which the offence was committed in Lambeth, with which parish there was constant communication by boat from the Horse Ferry. In October, 1794, a hackney coachman who was apprehended in the act of conveying dead bodies from the burial ground in High-street, Lambeth, was brought before the Magistrate at Union Hall, Borough. At the time the coach was seized, the body of the late porter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that of a young woman, and those of two children, were in it. The discovery caused such consternation among the inhabitants that they obtained permission for the friends of those recently buried to examine whether or not the bodies remained in the graves. "Shocking to say,* upwards of two hundred of the coffins taken up were found to be empty" (!). Large rewards were offered for the apprehension of the thieves, and a public remonstrance was afterwards, on sanitary grounds, made against the re-opening of the graves.

With this information before us we are less disposed to criticise Hood's sketch of *Jack Hall* when he says —

By day it was his trade to go
Tending the black coach to and fro ;
And sometimes at the door of woe,
 With emblems suitable,
He stood with brother Mute, to show
 That life is mutable.

* Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LXIV., p. 274.

But long before they passed the ferry,
 The dead that he had helped to bury
 He sacked—(he had a sack to carry
 The bodies off in) ;
 In fact he let them have a very
 Short fit of coffin.

Night after night, with crow and spade,
 He drove this dead but thriving trade,
 Meanwhile his conscience never weighed,
 A single horsehair ;
 On corsers of all kinds he preyed,
 A perfect corsair.

The use of woollen material for shrouds, which was made compulsory by an Act of Parliament passed in 1667-8 (Charles II.) was enforced in this parish so lately as 1811, as shown by an entry in the Churchwardens' Accounts under date of 28th March in that year :—

Received a moiety of the penalty for Mrs. Christie
 being buried in linen £2 10 0

The object of the Act was "the encouragement of the woollen manufacture of this kingdom, and prevention of the exportation of the moneys thereof for the buying and importing of linen"; but the penalty of £5 did not prevent the frequent breach of its provisions. In detestation of the law "Nance Oldfield," the celebrated actress, who spent her early life in Westminster, gave directions in her last moments for her interment in full dress—directions noticed by Pope in his *Moral Essays* (Epistle I., line 246):—

"Odious ! in woollen ! 'twould a saint provoke ;"
 (Were the last words that poor Narcissa spoke)
 "No, let a charming chintz and Brussels lace
 Wrap my cold limbs, and shade my lifeless face :
 One would not, sure, be frightful when one's dead—
 And—Betty†—give this cheek a little red."

From lack of funds, owing to the Order in Council for the closing of the ground having effectually cut off the income, the place soon began to wear a neglected appearance. Walls, railings, vaults and gravestones, all fell

† A reference to Mrs. Saunders, Mrs. Oldfield's confidential friend,

into decay, and for five and twenty years the spot wore the gloomy aspect in which Esther, to quote from *Bleak House* again, found the burial ground to which she was conducted after her night's journey through the thawing snow—"where one lamp was burning over an iron gate, and where the morning faintly struggled in. The gate was closed. Beyond it was a burial ground—a dreadful spot in which the night was very slowly stirring; but where I could dimly see heaps of dishonoured graves and stones hemmed in by filthy houses, with a few dull lights in the windows, and on whose wall a thick humidity broke out like a disease."

Improvement came about, however, in a somewhat unexpected manner. In 1878, the Westminster District Board of Works, having been long impressed with the need of a public mortuary, proposed to erect such a building upon the disused ground. The voice and vigour of the Rector were soon exercised in opposition to the project; but it was approved by 74 votes at a meeting of parishioners. Notwithstanding a generous offer made by the Duke of Westminster to grant a freehold site for the structure elsewhere, the application for a faculty was persevered with, but it met with refusal. The offer of a site was nevertheless confirmed by the Duke of Westminster, and the project bore other good results in that it aroused to activity the interest of the parishioners in their burial ground. A committee of inhabitants was instituted in 1880 to lay out the ground, to take the necessary steps to convert it into a public garden, and to raise funds for the purpose by an appeal for public subscriptions. Their efforts were aided by a faculty granted by the Consistory Court, and by the passing of the Metropolitan Open Spaces Act, by which the Westminster Board of Works was enabled to take over the maintenance of the ground. A further encouragement to the adoption of this course was offered by the Duke of Westminster who, besides contributing liberally to the funds raised by the inhabitants' committee, placed a more suitable site for

mortuary buildings than that at first proposed, at the disposal of the Board, upon the expiration of the short residue of the lease. The committee lost no time in carrying out the work, in connection with which a strip of the ground was surrendered for the widening of Horseferry-road. The whole was completed at an expense of £1,622, irrespective of the cost of the street improvement, which was defrayed by the Board, and the ground publicly opened and dedicated as an open space on the 23rd May, 1885, by the Duke of Westminster. In December, 1866, Mr. (now Sir) F. Seager Hunt (M.P. for Marylebone), undertook to erect a shelter or pavilion in the centre of the garden. The structure was completed in April, 1887, at a cost of £200.

Long before the issue of the Order in Council for the closing of the ground in 1853, a company had obtained power from Parliament (1 Vict., cap. cxxx.) to provide a cemetery at Brompton for interments from Westminster. By section 22 of the Act, a fee of ten shillings was reserved to the Rector of St. John's upon every interment from his parish in the consecrated portion of the cemetery. By an Act passed in 15 & 16 Vict. (cap. 85), the cemetery became vested in the Crown; but the fees in respect of the entire civil parish of St. John's continued to be paid to Archdeacon Jennings until his death, when they were distributed among the vicars of the several ecclesiastical districts into which the mother parish had been divided.

A perusal of the burial registers from 1731 to 1853, discloses little of interest beyond the evidence of longevity in the parish which they furnish. No less than 107 nonagenarians and seven centenarians* are registered. Of the former, seven had entered upon their 99th year, and 26

* In 1783, Elizabeth Smith, widow, aged 100 years, was an unsuccessful candidate for admission to the Emanuel Hospital. She renewed her application two years afterwards; but again failed to obtain the charity. Her burial is not entered in St. John's registers.

On the 27th May, 1784, died George Sims, of Great Peter Street, aged 102 years.

died in the workhouse. The names and addresses of the seven centenarians have been extracted:—

<i>Year.</i>		<i>Name.</i>		<i>Address.</i>		<i>Age.</i>
1787	...	Nicholas Gentle	...	The Workhouse	...	100
1800	...	Catherine Fraser	...	St. Ann's street	...	107
1817	...	Elizabeth Hearn	...	St. Ann's street	...	100
1828	...	Elizabeth Shuan	...	44, Old Pye street	...	100
1833	...	Susannah Forgain	...	The Workhouse	...	100
1834	...	Mary Purdy	...	9, Esher street	...	100
1838	...	Elizabeth Stanley	...	The Workhouse	...	101

No stone or tablet in the burial ground marks the resting place of either of these. The only stone which records an age of more than 100 years, is that of Christopher Shephard distiller, of Peter-street, who died on the 5th April, 17~~x~~2, aged 146 years. The stone, which lies on the east side of the ground, reveals, on close inspection, a clumsy piece of carving in the "1" prefixed to the "46." There is also the appearance of the figure preceding the "2" having been defaced so as to prevent the entry being easily checked by the registers. A search extending over sixty years discovered the entry of the burial as having taken place in 1732. No ages are given in the register; but as odd memoranda are in some places added on commonplace subjects, it is remarkable that so great an age was not thought worthy of note. An application was made to the Vestry on 25th April, 1732, for leave to construct a vault, and £5 5s. was paid for the concession; but although the particulars entered on the Vestry minutes are in other respects full, there is no mention made of the age.

Walcott states that the burial ground contains the ashes of an Indian Chief, who, having been brought to England in 1734 by Mr. James Oglethorpe, died of small-pox, and was buried in the presence of the 'emperor Toma,' after the custom of the Karakee Creeks, sewn up in two blankets, between two deal boards, with his clothes, some silver coins and a few glass beads.

The same author also mentions a tomb bearing an inscrip-

tion to the memory of Donald Grant, D.D., "whose ecclesiastical emoluments during a ministry of forty-four years in the Established Church amounted to £743, or an average of rather less than £17 per annum. Yet, with no original patrimony he was enabled to preserve through life the independence of a man, and the respectability of a clergyman; to supply the decencies of a comfortable mediocrity; to spare something for the wants of Genius, Industry and Worth, and to leave a benefaction for the education of two young men in his parent University!" Owing in all probability to the displacement of the stones during the laying out of the ground, the tomb is not now traceable.

On the east side of the ground stands an unsightly monument in granite, clumsily inscribed in huge letters to the memory of "Ch^r. Cass, Master Mason to His Maj.'s Ordnance. Died Apl. 21, 1734. Aged 58." He was employed on the construction of St. John's Church, and on several of the other churches built by Queen Anne's Commission. He was also one of the original vestrymen appointed by the Commission.

A plain headstone marks the resting place of James Caldwell, a celebrated designer and engraver, who died 9th March, 1822, at the age of 84. He applied his talent mainly to portraiture, in which he obtained commands from Catherine, Countess of Suffolk, Sir Henry Oxenden, Bart., Sir John Glynne, Admiral Keppel, Mrs. Siddons, and other distinguished persons. He was also an exhibitor at the Society of Artists and at the Free Society between 1768 and 1780.

There is nothing in the other inscriptions to encourage us to make a

"Fond attempt to give a deathless lot
To names ignoble, born to be forgot,"

for besides the railed tomb of John Bacchus, which was repaired and painted until 1889 by the Trustees of his

charity,* and a plain flat gravestone inscribed "Aldⁿ. J. J.," to the memory of Lord Mayor Johnson, who was churchwarden in 1845, there are no other stones deserving of special notice here. The inscription on the large granite slab, which has been placed on the south side of the ground to supersede, as it were, the last named modest stone, is copied in the reference to Alderman Johnson in the next chapter.

But it is time to bring to a close a visit already, perhaps, too protracted, lest we prompt the enquiring complaint—

Wherefore all this wormy circumstance?

Why linger at the yawning tombs so long?

* This obligation has not passed to the Trustees appointed under the Scheme of the Charity Commission. See *Chapter xvi.*



CHAPTER VI.

THE PARISH OFFICERS.

"And honour's thought
Reigned solely in the breast of every man."
"HENRY V."

"They pursue the pebbly walk
That leads to the white porch the Sunday throng,
And posed churchwardens with solemn stalk
And gold-bedizened beadle flames along."
HOOD.

"It often happens that those are the best people whose characters have been most injured by slanders, as we usually find that to be the sweetest fruit which the birds have been pecking at."—POPE.

The Parish Beadle.—The Churchwardens ; List of—'Churchwarden's day.'—Fines for non-acceptance of office.—A funeral.—An imprisonment.—A procession.—Mr. Taverner John Miller.—The Churchwardens' 'Snuff-box.'—The Treasurers.—The Overseers ; List of—The Overseers' 'Tobacco-box.'—Vestry Clerks.

OUR survey of the burial-ground being ended, we turn to mingle again with the living and to consult with some of those who have distinguished themselves as office bearers in the parish. With this object we direct our steps in search of the parish clerk ; but our progress is arrested by a husky voice as we leave the silent acre. The owner of this voice overtakes us. He is short, with a disposition to corpulent rotundity, and with an infirm gait which has invoked the aid of a thick stick. If the assumed air of officious gravity and importance had failed to inform us of his dignity and power, the profusion of gilt band upon his broad-brimmed hat* and of gilt braid upon his wide red collar, would soon have warned us that we were confronted by no less a functionary than Scowler, the beadle ! If we had had any doubt, it would at once have been set at rest

* The annual charge for the beadle's hats was £4 19s. od.—£3 3s. od. for the "Cocked Hat and gold lace complete," and £1 16s. od. for the "Round Hat and gold lace complete." The payments were continued so lately as 1845.

by the awe-inspired alacrity with which two little children sped across the road to avoid his threatening eye. Having gratified his curiosity as to our business in the burial-ground, we had no difficulty in exciting his garrulity, in which the dignity and responsibility of his office were in no way impaired by absence of effort on his part to maintain it. We soon learned that his special errand at the time was to bear a draft handed him by Mr. Seater, the rector's churchwarden, to present to the Treasurer in exchange for cash to meet the payments due to the parish clerk, the sexton, the organist, the pew-openers, the bearers, the searchers, the collectors, the watchmen and others on the parochial staff, besides furnishing the overseers with the small change needed to relieve the large demands of the idlers, the miserable and the deserving poor who had attended 'the board' at the King's Head overnight. Having endeavoured to impress us with his importance, Mr. Scowler lost no time in spreading before us his tale of hardship and grievance—how he was overworked and underpaid—as if it were possible for a parish beadle not to be so; how his asthma had been worse ever since he was called up at midnight, to take the engine to a fire which only burnt in the imagination of the youths of the parish, and how the sexton had induced Mr. Gatherbutton, the people's warden, to order him to assist in lighting the fires in the church stoves every week instead of every month.

A generation had passed away since his election, which was only remembered by a few of the older inhabitants. It had occasioned nothing of the parochial convulsion which had recently occurred in the parish of St. Margaret.*

* A packet of letters from applicants for the office of beadle, when the position was vacant in St. Margaret's in 1790, was found a short time ago. Nearly every candidate urged as his peculiar qualification the number of his family. The letters, and the proceedings of the Vestry in making the appointment, vividly recalled the inimitable sketch by Dickens and the placards he describes:—"Bung for Beadle. Five small children! Hopkins for Beadle. Seven small children!! Timkins for Beadle. Nine small children!!! Spruggins for Beadle. Ten small children (two of them twins) and a wife!!!!"

In the days of his prosperity, his position as a 'respectable tradesman' had obtained him a seat upon the Vestry; as the day of his adversity began to overshadow him he had resigned his seat in order to compete for the office of parish clerk; but that appointment had been given to the son of the outgoing bed-ridden officer, upon condition that the son allowed his father one half the salary and emoluments of the office for the remainder of his life. Scowler's day of opportunity dawned, however, when it was told throughout the parish that Wheezy, the beadle, who was greatly enfeebled by age, had died somewhat suddenly as the result of over-exertion. In his efforts to drive towards the greenyard two straying young porkers expelled from their havoc in a Vestryman's garden, Wheezy had fallen, helpless, into a stagnant pool, drained into a hole in the highway from the cattle sheds at the rear of the Pig and Pattens. Although he was extricated and conducted home by the friendly potman, (who had many times assisted him in the same direction when incapable from other causes,) the indefatigable officer succumbed to the effects of the excitement and partial immersion.*

Here it became necessary for us to wrench ourselves from Mr. Scowler's loquacity, and to betake ourselves again to the parish books for such particulars as might be there gleaned of the forefathers and colleagues in office of Messrs. Seater and Gatherbutton.

By the Canons of the Church (89 and 90, 2 James I., 1603-4) churchwardens were to be chosen every year by the joint consent of the minister and parishioners in Easter week, on the day which the minister shall appoint and publicly notify in the church the Sunday before; but by virtue of an immemorial custom in the parish of St. Margaret, both the churchwardens were chosen annually by the Vestry on the Thursday next before Whitsunday, and

* The last recorded election of beadle took place in 1847.

by virtue of sec. xxi. of the Act 10 Annæ, cap. II., the custom became observable in the parish of St. John the Evangelist. The choice of both churchwardens by the Vestry continued to be exercised until 1853, when an Act (16 and 17 Vict., cap. 225) was passed "for the appointment and regulation of Vestries in the parishes of St Margaret and St. John the Evangelist, Westminster." This Act prescribes that, in case there shall be a difference of opinion between the rector and the Vestry as to the choice of churchwardens, "the Rector shall nominate and appoint one of the churchwardens, and the majority of the Vestrymen present shall then and there elect the other churchwarden." Although no "disagreement" is recorded, the rector has, since 1854, invariably appointed one of the churchwardens, and the Vestry the other. The rule thus established is observed at the present time, and in the district churches. The following is a

LIST OF THE CHURCHWARDENS.

1729-33. Sir R. Grosvenor	Sir T. Crosse
1734. Sir R. Grosvenor	John Crosse
1735. John Crosse	William Ayres
1736. William Ayres	Major J. Rusden
1737. Major J. Rusden	Samuel Harvey
1738. Samuel Harvey	Henry Dagley
1739. Henry Dagley	Benjamin Barker
1740. Benjamin Barker	Roger Jackson
1741. Roger Jackson	Matthew Fisher
1742. Matthew Fisher	John Smallwell
1743. John Smallwell	Charles Crosse
1744. Charles Crosse	Samuel Price
1745. Samuel Price	Joseph Pratt
1746. Andrew Parsons	William Gallant
1747. William Gallant	Hammond Crosse
1748. Hammond Crosse	William Pacey
1749. William Pacey	Robert Howard
1750. Robert Howard	Charles Kerwood
1751. Charles Kerwood	Henry Conyers
1752. Henry Conyers	John Powell
1753. John Powell	{ *Robert Wright
	{ Henry Conyers

* Died during his term of office.

1754. John Powell	Jeremiah Malden
1755. Robert Benson	John Parquot
1756. John Parquot	William Cowley
1757. William Cowley	John Bacchus
1758. John Bacchus	Richard Pearce
1759. Richard Pearce	Benjamin Barker
1760. Benjamin Barker	Edward Hill
1761. Edward Hill	John Vaughan
1762. John Vaughan	William Byfield
1763. Thomas Clark	Thomas Fisher
1764. Thomas Fisher	John Whitehead
1765. John Whitehead	John Waker
1766. John Waker	Thomas Lloyd
1767. Thomas Lloyd	Timothy Carter
1768. Timothy Carter	John Simpson
1769. John Simpson	William Leigh
1770. William Leigh	William Harrison
1771. William Harrison	John Price
1772. John Price	John Fells
1773. John Fells	William Stratford
1774. William Stratford	John Bradley
1775. John Bradley	Matthew Nesham
1776. Matthew Nesham	William Barrett
1777. William Barrett	John Williams
1778. John Williams	Thomas Gayfere
1779. Thomas Gayfere	George Byfield
1780. George Byfield	William Eves
1781. George Byfield	Matthew Wiggins
1782. Matthew Wiggins	James Arrow
1783. James Arrow	Thomas Greenaway
1784. Morris Marsault	George Graves
1785. George Graves	Morris Marsault
1786. Morris Marsault	John Marguard
1787. Charles Clarke	William Davis
1788. Charles Clarke	John Groves
1789. John Groves	Robert Clarke
1790. Robert Clarke	Thomas Pearce
1791. Thomas Pearce	James Ellis
1792. James Ellis	John Ansell
1793. John Ansell	John Fenwick
1794. Thos. Dickinson	J. A. Schwenck
1795. J. A. Schwenck	Stephen Cosser
1796. Stephen Cosser	Joseph Moser
1797. Joseph Moser	George Ellis
1798.*George Ellis	William A. Wallinger
1799. Thomas Boys	Thomas Boys
	William Turner

* Died during his term of office.

1800. William Turner	{*Jordan James Arrow
1801. Edward Medley	{ Edward Medley
	Charles Slater
1802. Charles Slater	{*John Price
	{ James Sheppard
1803. James Sheppard	Benjamin Hodges
1804. James Allen	William Ginger
1805. William Ginger	Thos. Glover Holt
1806. Thomas G. Holt	Jonathan Hitchins
1807. Jonathan Hitchins	Henry White
1808. Henry White	Benj. John Johnson
1809. Benj. John Johnson	Hall Wake
1810. Hall Wake	Joseph Wood
1811. Joseph Wood	Thomas Boys
1812. Thomas Boys	James Watts
1813. James Watts	Joseph Sanders
1814. Joseph Sanders	Charles P. Jones
1815. Matthew Jenkinson	John Slater
1816. John Slater	Thomas Sheppard
1817. Thos Sheppard	Leonard Turney
1818. Leonard Turney	Joseph Lyon
1819. Joseph Lyon	David Green
1820. David Green	Thomas Daniel
1821. Thomas Daniel	James Veal
1822. James Veal	Richard Maskell
1823. Richard Maskell	James Firth
1824. James Firth	George Henry Malme
1825. George H. Malme	John Shepherd
1826. C. W. Hallett	W. H. Jackson
1827. W. H. Jackson	David Shuter
1828. David Shuter	Thomas Baker
1829. David Shuter	Archibald Michie
1830. Joseph Bennett	George Pink
1831. George Pink	James Hunt
1832. James Hunt	William Evans
1833. William Evans	Joseph Carter Wood
1834. Joseph C. Wood	Jonathan Sawyer
1835. Jonathan Sawyer	John Johnson
1836. John Johnson	James Lys Seager
1837. W. Burridge, jun.	J. A. Walmisley
1838. W. Burridge, jun.	James Elyard
1839. James Elyard	Samuel John Noble
1840. Samuel J. Noble	Taverner J. Miller
1841. Taverner J. Miller	James Howell
1842. James Howell	Thomas Wright
1843. Robert Stafford	A. L. Mc Bain
1844. Robert Stafford	Samuel Hemmings

* Died during their term of office.

1845. Samuel Hemmings	Joseph Bennett
1846. Joseph Bennett	William R. Gritten
1847. Thomas Eversfield	William Woolley
1848. Thomas Eversfield	William Woolley
1849. William Woolley	John Downey
1850. John Downey	Lieut. Henry Coode (R.N.)
1851. Lieut. Henry Coode (R.N.)	Fredk. Sampson William Sheppar
1852. Lieut. Henry Coode (R.N.)	Fredk. Sampson William Sheppard
1853. Fredk. S. W. Sheppard	John Norris
1854. John Norris	Robert Boyd
1855. Taverner John Miller	Robert Boyd
1856. John Norris	Henry Stephen Ridley
1857. John Norris	George Ray
1858. John Norris	Job Cook
1859. John Billing	William Bottrill
1860. John Billing	James Howell
1861. John Billing	James Howell
1862. John Billing	Thomas Horn
1863. John Billing	Edward Grove
1864. Thomas Horn	Thomas Henry Hartley
1865. Thomas Horn	Thomas Henry Hartley
1866. William Sims Pratten	George Burt
1867. George Burt	John Jobson
1868. John Jobson	Frederick Seager Hunt
1869. Frederick Seager Hunt	Henry Bingley
1870. Henry Bingley	George Taverner Miller
1871. George Taverner Miller	John Dalton
1872. George Taverner Miller	John Dalton
1873. George Taverner Miller	George Adams
1874. George Taverner Miller	George Cook
1875. George Taverner Miller	William John Bennett
1876. George Taverner Miller	William John Bennett
1877. George Taverner Miller	James Margrie
1878. George Taverner Miller	James Margrie
1879. George Taverner Miller	Harry Nelson Bowman Spink
1880. William Sugg	Harry Nelson Bowman Spink
1881. William Sugg	Harry Nelson Bowman Spink
1882. George Taverner Miller	Thomas Joseph Tayton
1883. George Taverner Miller	Thomas Joseph Tayton
1884. George Taverner Miller	William Henry Baker
1885. Michael Holman Bishop	Thomas Holder
1886. Michael Holman Bishop	Thomas Holder
1887. Michael Holman Bishop	Chas. Christmas Piper
1888. Michael Holman Bishop	Chas. Christmas Piper
1889. Michael Holman Bishop	Herman Olsen Hamborg
1890. Michael Holman Bishop	Herman Olsen Hamborg
1891. Michael Holman Bishop	John Hayler
1892. Michael Holman Bishop	Thos. Wm. Davies

The two "well-beloved and trusty," whose names stand at the commencement of this long line, and whose arms are given on the next page, were appointed in the first instance by the Commissioners acting under the Act of 10 Annæ, cap. II., sec. 19. They were first elected by "the parishioners in Vestry assembled" on the 22nd May, 1729, when the proceedings were conducted, as the records inform us, "according to the custom of St. Margaret's parish." To these, their first churchwardens, the parishioners are indebted for the church-plate, described at page 54.

In his humorous sketch of "Our Parish," Charles Dickens excluded the churchwardens from his description of the parish officers "because all we know of them is that they are usually respectable tradesmen who wear hats with brims—inclined to flatness, and who occasionally testify in gilt letters on a blue ground, in some conspicuous part of the church, to the important fact of a gallery having been enlarged and beautified, or an organ re-built." Without questioning the accuracy of this description, so far as it goes, we might add two qualifications—they must be capable of gently sibillating their respective patronymics in the Archidiaconal car, or in that of the Diocesan secretary, and of "presenting all such things as are by law presentable,"—including the visitation fees. For much the same reason as that assigned by the great master of fiction, we do not propose to encumber these pages with genealogical or biographical notes upon the two hundred and fifty individuals whose names we have just enrolled; but as there were some few who achieved distinction in various ways, we shall return to them presently, lest it may be thought they have been overlooked.

An important institution in the parish used to be "Churchwardens' day." Besides the ringing of the bells, the playing of the organ, the processions up the Church, the transfer of the keys and plate, the declaration by the rector, and the other formalities observed in immediate connection



with the annual elections, the day was marked for many years by the "parish parade," in which the bearers, grave diggers, pew openers, gallery keepers and others mustered, and in which excitement was raised to its highest pitch by the fire-drill. Then all became bustle. The little boys would rouse the neighbourhood as they ran shouting at the tops of their voices to the engine-house, then to the beadle's house, thence to the public-houses in succession, until they had found the beadle. This accomplished, the beadle would run—a feat only performed once a year—for well nigh a dozen paces, when exhaustion would compel him to support himself by the nearest railings for some few seconds. Arrived at the engine-house, the perspiring beadle would dispatch some of his juvenile assistants to his house for the key, while he seated himself on the dwarf wall close by to await their return. After some delay the forerunner of the youths would return shouting, "There's no one at home," which would put the decrepid beadle under the rare necessity of "hurrying" to procure the keys himself; but before he would be seen again the bystanders would have drawn the hasp; the engine would be run out amidst a shout, and would be rumbling along the footway at fully three miles an hour to the point of call. Another bevy of small boys would next be sent off in search of Aquarius the turncock. This indispensable functionary having at last been brought to the spot, and the right fire-plug having been discovered and opened after much patient effort, a gentle stream of water would begin to flow and to elicit the cheers of the youthful spectators. The busy beadle, who had by this time put in his second appearance, would now superintend and direct the disentangling and coupling of the twisted hose, and the eager hands of the larger boys would, at his terrible bidding 'man' the pump, but only to find that the hose had become so perished and cracked as to be useless. An order would be given on the spot for the hose to be forthwith put under repair at the parish cobbler's,

and the display would terminate in a manner impatiently awaited by the church servants, and which is regularly inscribed in the accounts for many years prior to 1830, in some such form as the following :—

To the six bearers, grave digger, engine keeper, two
gallery keepers, bell-ringers, pew-openers, beadle,
organ blower and vestry-keeper on the day the
churchwardens were elected £2 5 0

For the next scene in continuation of the day's proceedings we must adjourn to the Salutation tavern, where the ‘ business ’ is to conclude with “ the churchwardens’ dinner.”

“ And feeding high, and living soft
Grew plump and able-bodied ;
Until the grave churchwarden doff’d,
The parson smirk’d and nodded.”

As fashion has fixed the dinner hour at three o’clock* we proceed at once to this second Vestry meeting of the day Supported by the outgoing and incoming wardens, by the overseers, by the Vestrymen in full force, and by the principal officials,—

“ The Rector at the table’s front presides,
Whose presence a monastic life derides ;
The reverend wig, in sideway order placed,
The reverend band by rubric stains disgraced,
The leering eye in wayward circles roll’d,
Mark him the pastor of a jovial fold,
Whose various texts excite a loud applause,
Favouring the bottle and the good old cause.”

Here, amid the clattering of plates and dishes and cutlery, and as course after course of substantial English fare would appear and disappear, our parish fathers would discuss parish matters :—

And mix sobriety with wine
And honest mirth with thoughts divine.

* In the *Weekly Journal* of 4th January, 1735, there is an order to the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, in which three o’clock is mentioned “ as the usual time of his Majesty retiring to go to dinner.”

“ We go to-morrow to walk in Richmond Gardens, and they are all to dine here at three o’clock.”—*Earl of March to George Selwyn, June, 1767.*

The sight of the first tureen of steaming soup would remind the advocate of "retrenchment and reform" of his intention to move at the next Vestry for "a copy of the recipe from which the paupers' soup was prepared, together with the documents relating thereto," while a newly elected Vestryman, disappointed in having failed to obtain a seat on one of the committees, would declare his determination to oppose the introduction of knives and forks into the workhouse* as being an unnecessary, extravagant, and dangerous innovation; but as the tables became relieved of their lightened dishes, and as the foreheads became relieved of the perspiration provoked by the stuffy atmosphere, those who had at first shown a disagreeable disposition, became remarkably bland, until complete unanimity prevailed in accordance with the clever parody of the well known passage in *Twelfth Night* (Act I. Sc. 1):—

"If Lobsters be the Sauce for Turbot, heap on,
Give me another plate—that so the appetite
May gormandize before the season's out,
That smack again ;—it had a luscious relish ;
Oh, it came o'er my palate like sweet jelly,
That doth accompany a haunch just touch'd,
Stealing and giving odour ; enough,—no more—
O pamper'd taste ! how quickly cloy'd thou art,
That, notwithstanding my capacious eye
Is bigger than my paunch, nought enters there
Of what high price and rarity soever,
But turns to chalk-stone, and the gnawing gout,
Even in a minute ! such pains do lurk unseen
In dishes seasoned high, fantastical."†

Grace having been said, there would follow the "toast and sentiment," in which the Chairman would introduce "the

* According to a newspaper paragraph knives and forks were provided for the use of the paupers in a country workhouse, for the first time, at their Christmas dinner in 1888.

† *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXIV. Part II., p. 654.

King—and his speedy recovery,” or the “ Prince Regent,” or “ the Wooden Walls of Old England.” Then

Round went the flasks of ruddy wine,
From Bordeaux, Orleans or the Rhine ;
And all was mirth and revelry.

And then the churchwarden pipe and the “ Tobacco Box ” would add to the social cheer, in the course of which—

The chairman pledged his welcome guest,
The cup went through among the rest,
Who drained it merrily.

When the services of the outgoing warden had been duly recognised, one gentleman would ask another “ Hob and Nob ? ” The other would politely acquiesce, and the two gentlemen would then touch their glasses together and invoke health on each other. In this little courtesy the challenger would usually put the rim of his glass a little below the rim of his friend's, who, as a matter of compliment, would make a feint of resisting the honour by lowering his own. The early summer evening had not cast its shade as this second vestry meeting would rise, and the company disperse in little groups, some to stroll under the willows of Millbank, and across the fields, to continue their promenade in the ‘ genteel walks ’ of Ranelagh ; some to take the ferry across to the Spring Gardens at Vauxhall to enjoy Dr. Arne's music or the fireworks, and others to take their accustomed corner at their favourite coffee-house, to learn the latest intelligence from the Gazette Extraordinary.

With the exception of the invitations for the officials, the expense of which was charged against the parish, the cost of these annual entertainments was defrayed either by subscription or by the churchwardens. In course of time, however, the pecuniary liability on account of Churchwarden's Day was regarded as somewhat burdensome. By way of remedy, an allowance of £12 was annually voted, for many years, to each churchwarden “ towards the extra expense they are at in serving

the office;" but the grant did not remove an indisposition to accept 'the honours of office.' Between 1768 and 1816, no less than £340 were carried to the parish credit in the form of fines of £20 each imposed upon seventeen Vestrymen who declined to serve when nominated as churchwardens. One of these was Thomas Churchill, a relative of the poet (1769), another was "Lord Viscount Belgrave" (1796), a third was Admiral Ommaney (1798), a fourth was Mr. Thomas Green, the parish treasurer, who paid the fine rather than accept the office for two months upon a vacancy being caused by death in 1801, and a fifth was Mr. James Ellis, the parish attorney, in 1807. Two gentlemen paid £20 each in 1794, and three forfeited the same amount each in 1798 to be excused accepting the position.

An endeavour to impose the honours of office and the penalty for non-acceptance upon a reluctant Vestryman, was successfully contested in 1801, when Thomas Sibell pleaded that he was the assignee of a certificate* duly granted to John Doney of his having apprehended and prosecuted to conviction two men for a burglary in his dwelling house and stealing therein goods of the value of fourteen shillings and ninepence, "such certificate discharging the said John Doney from all manner of parish offices." Being unable to realise the possibility of exemption under such circumstances, the Vestry referred the claim to the parish attorney, upon whose advice it was allowed.

In 1796 a custom was established of presenting each outgoing churchwarden with "a folio prayer-book, handsomely bound in morocco, gilt, and lettered with his name thereon," as a memento of his year of office. The custom ceased, owing to lack of funds, nine years ago. It was not sus-

* These certificates were known as "Tyburn Tickets." They were assignable once, and exempted the receiver or his immediate assignee from all offices within the parish or ward where the felony was committed. In some parishes they would sell for £25 or £30, in others from £15 to £18, according to the importance of the parish,

pended even though, in 1818 the Vestry passed a vote of censure upon the churchwardens "for not meeting the Vestry at the time of its being called and keeping it waiting nearly half an hour."

In the long "roll of fame" we have just passed are the names of many to whom Dickens's description would have applied. There are also the names of many professional men, gentlemen, and merchants—laymen whose services were highly prized by the clergy and the parishioners—whose strong desire for reverential decency in the services of the Church, was only equalled by their unswerving rectitude and dignity in the conduct of the public affairs of the parish. An entry in the Vestry Minutes of March, 1801, testifies to the respect in which the Churchwardens of the "respectable tradesman" class were held:—

Mr. Church Warden Turner wishing to pay a Tribute of Respect to the Memory of his late colleague, Mr. Church Warden Arrow, waited in person upon the Gentlemen of the Vestry, requesting their Attendance in the Vestry Room, on Friday the 6th of March instant, being the day appointed for his Interment, when being assembled, and the entrance to the Church being lined with the Volunteers of the Saint Margaret and Saint John's Association commanded by the Right Honorable Lord Viscount Belgrave in person, it was agreed to meet the Body on the steps leading up to the Church—That the Wand of the deceased should be placed on the coffin—And after the Mourners had passed to proceed in the following Order—

- 1st. The Bedle with the Top of his Staff entwined with crape.
- 2nd. Mr. Church Warden Turner alone with his Wand (the Ensign of Office) entwined with crape also.
- 3rd. The Gentlemen of the Vestry two and two, beginning with the Juniors.
- 4th. The Vestry Clerk.

After the usual Service in the Church, an appropriate part of the 39th Psalm, was solemnly sung by the Children of the Green Coat and Grey Coat Hospitals—and the Children of the Blue Coat School, who attended for that purpose.

The procession moved in the same Order to the Burying Ground, escorted by a party of the Association, and followed by the Westminster Cavalry dismounted (of which the deceased was Adjutant and Secretary) with all the customary Forms and Solemnity, usual on such Occasions, his Horse being arrayed in Black. The whole was closed by

Major Elliot.

Commander of the Westminster Cavalry, a Party of whom fired three Volleys over the Grave, with their pistols, which concluded the awfull ceremony—after which the Vestymen returned to the Church in the same order, followed by the Cavalry.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* of the time notes that the deceased was "joiner to his Majesty's Board of Works," and that the funeral was conducted with great military pomp.

Mr. James Hunt, churchwarden in 1831 and 1832, was the donor, in conjunction with his brother, the late Sir Henry Hunt, of the coloured glass windows, and the font (*see page 59*). His colleague in office in 1832 was Mr. William Evans, whose active interest in public life led to his election as Sheriff of London and Middlesex shortly afterwards. The responsibilities of this office, and his determination to discharge its duties conscientiously, while they brought upon him an unenviable notoriety, elicited the warmest sympathies of his fellow parishioners.

In 1837 an action was brought by John Joseph Stockdale against Messrs. Hansard for the recovery of £50,000 damages for the publication of certain parliamentary papers. The defendants petitioned Parliament for its protection, upon which two resolutions were passed. The first declared that the power of publishing such of the reports of the House as should be deemed necessary or conducive to the public interest, was an essential incident to the constitutional functions of Parliament; the second avowed that the prosecution of any suit for the purpose of bringing the privileges of the House before any court or tribunal elsewhere than in Parliament, was a high breach of such privilege, and rendered all parties concerned amenable to its just displeasure, and to the punishment consequent thereon. The proceedings were thereupon stayed; but they were revived, with some alteration of form, as an action for libel in the Court of Queen's Bench, in 1839. In November of that year a writ of enquiry was directed to the Sheriffs, the under sheriffs and the deputy under-sheriff,

whose attention was, at the same time called to the resolutions of the House. The sheriffs thereupon made an application to the Court to enlarge the return to the writ until after the meeting of Parliament; but Mr. Justice Littledale refused to make any order. Having no alternative left them, the sheriffs empanelled a jury, by whom damages were assessed at £600. Still hesitating to move between the two fires, the sheriffs made no return to the writ until the plaintiff obtained a rule from the Queen's Bench compelling them to do so. This was followed by the plaintiff lodging with the sheriffs a writ of *fiery facias*, in pursuance of which the sheriffs' officers entered upon Messrs. Hansards' premises and sold goods and chattels by auction to the amount of £695. The defendants being unable to prevent the sale, applied for an injunction to restrain the sheriffs from parting with the proceeds to the plaintiff, while the plaintiff proceeded against them by judge's summons and eventually by an application for a rule in the Court of Queen's Bench to compel them to deliver to him the proceeds of the sale. Parliament having met by this time, the defendants presented a petition setting forth all the circumstances. The House thereupon ordered Stockdale, the sheriffs, the under sheriffs, their deputy, and the other officers concerned, to attend at the Bar of the House. Stockdale was found to have been guilty of high contempt and of breach of privilege, and was committed to the custody of the Sergeant at Arms. In the examination of the sheriffs and their assistants, which extended over several days, Mr. Sheriff Evans declared that "if in the execution of their painful duty they had done anything which had incurred the displeasure of the House, they deeply deplored it." On 21st January, 1840, they were ordered to restore to Messrs. Hansards the sum received at the sale, and a protracted debate, which was adjourned, took place on a motion to commit the sheriffs and their assistants for contempt and breach of privilege. On the

next day a petition was presented by the sheriffs expressing "sorrow and concern at having incurred the displeasure of the House, and praying that they might not be annexed of their moneys or imprisoned in their persons for having honestly and fairly acted in discharge of a duty cast upon them by law, according to the best of their ability and judgment, and to what in their consciences they believed to be the solemn application of their oaths." Eventually, by a majority of 101 on a division, the finding of the House was against the sheriffs, and they were forthwith committed to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms. The plaintiff, still relentless, resorted to an extraordinary expedient upon the Order of the House being carried into effect. Three days only having elapsed, the Sergeant-at-Arms reported that he had been served with a writ, directing him to produce the bodies of the sheriffs in the Court of Queen's Bench. Thereupon the House ordered that the Sergeant-at-Arms make a return of the circumstances under which he held the bodies of the sheriffs, and the plaintiff found himself not only overpowered, but committed to Newgate for a high contempt and breach of privilege—a precisely similar offence to that for which the sheriffs stood committed, with the additional ignominy and discomfort of confinement in the common gaol. Taking leave of Mr. Stockdale thus securely provided for, we return to Westminster to find a motion made on 4th February, 1840, for the release of the parliamentary prisoners. The question was negatived, however, by 132 to 34. On 12th February, the House was informed that Mr. Wheelton, Mr. Evans's co-sheriff, was extremely ill. His medical man having attended at the Bar of the House, by order, and deposed that his patient was so dangerously ill that he would not answer for his life from hour to hour, the House granted Mr. Wheelton's release. Mr. Sheriff-churchwarden Evans thus became left in the solitude in which he is depicted in the engraving on the churchwardens' snuff box, as repro-

duced at page 177. On the 25th February an appeal was made to Parliament for leave for Mr. Sheriff Evans to quit his confinement temporarily for the purpose of joining his colleagues in presenting an address to Her Majesty, H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent and H.R.H. the Prince Albert on the approaching Royal marriage ; but the permission was withheld. On 3rd March, however, Viscount Mahon informed the House that our churchwarden's health was materially suffering from his continued confinement. His medical attendant, Dr. Freeman, was thereupon ordered to attend at the Bar of the House for examination. An independent medical gentleman, Dr. Chalmers, was also ordered to examine the prisoner, and to attend at the Bar with his report ; but the only action upon the statements of these gentlemen, was to have their evidence printed ! Three days later, after a prolonged and contentious debate, Mr. Evans was discharged "for the present," with an order to attend again on the 6th April. Although he complied with that order, his discharge was not finally granted until the 6th May. After such an experience of the responsibilities of civic offices, it is not surprising that Mr. Evans sought no further advancement. He appears to have resigned all his public positions, and to have confined his attention more closely to the extensive distillery which to-day bears the name of Seager Evans and Co., of Grosvenor-road and Millbank. In this connection it may be convenient to mention that Sir Frederick Seager Hunt, M.P., who was churchwarden in 1868 and 1869, is a successor to Mr. Evan's business. The son of Mr. James Hunt, whose active interest in the affairs of the parish and the church have already been noticed, he has in many ways given practical proof of the thoroughness with which he has inherited his father's sympathies in that respect. He was re-elected in July last to represent Marylebone in Parliament.

The next churchwarden to be noticed also achieved a

public prominence far beyond the limits of the parish, though in a much more pleasant manner than did Mr. Evans. John Johnson, a proprietor of the premises now occupied by Messrs. Mowlem, at Millbank, succeeded, in conjunction with his brother, to his father's business, as a paviour and contractor for large public works. In the same conjunction he inherited a large fortune, the result of the father's speculation in a stone quarry in Devonshire, from which the "Haytor" granite was obtained. He also carried out the contract for the celebrated breakwater at Plymouth which, with other profitable speculations, placed him at the head of the stone trade. In the midst of his active attention to his extensive business, he found time to bear his share in the local administration, being elected a vestryman in 1817, and subsequently chosen as a governor and director of the poor. In 1835 he was appointed churchwarden. His conspicuous business capabilities had by this time fixed the attention of his fellow citizens upon him, and in 1836 he was called upon to fill the office of Sheriff of London and Middlesex. In 1839 he was called to the Aldermanic gown for the Ward of Dowgate, and in 1845 he was elected, after an exciting contest, to fill the civic chair. Wild expressions of disapprobation on the one hand, and enthusiastic cheering on the other, greeted the declaration of the result. In the interval which preceded Lord Mayor's Day, the opposition had subsided, so that on the 10th November, 1845 (the 9th falling on a Sunday), the procession to Westminster, favoured by fine weather, and unmarred by a discordant voice, was in every way a great success. Conspicuous positions were assigned in the pageant to the Worshipful Company of Distillers, to the arms of Mr. Sheriff Evans, and to the arms of the chaplain to the Worshipful Company of Spectacle Makers, the Rev. John Jennings, Rector of St. John the Evangelist. Vast crowds gathered along the line of route to the place of embarkation at Blackfriars, where, in addition to the State

and City barges, an enormous number of small boats, crowded with passengers, was afloat.

Arrived and landed at Westminster, the Recorder, in presenting the Lord Mayor Elect to be sworn, recapitulated the many public offices Alderman Johnson had held, and attributed his present high station to the efficient manner in which he had filled them. "Mr. Johnson," continued the Recorder, "had undertaken and executed many very great and national works in the construction of bridges, in the formation and improvement of the dock-yards of the country, and, above all, in the erection of that effectual bulwark and barrier against the violence of the ocean, the stupendous structure—the Plymouth Breakwater. It would be alien to the singleness and sincerity of Mr. Johnson's character were he to arrogate to himself the undivided merit of these amongst the noblest and most useful undertakings and efforts of modern times. Mr. Johnson, on the contrary, rejoiced to have had the opportunity of acting under the superintendence, and to have been stimulated by the example, genius, and spirit of enterprise, of the late Sir John Rennie; and Mr. Johnson at the same time equally disclaimed the praise of being the sole originator and architect of his present ample fortune. He acknowledged with feelings of deep gratitude and reverence that the foundation of his fortune had been laid by, and had had its origin in, the ability, integrity, and industry, of his forefathers; whilst in raising and in attempting to carry on upon that foundation a superstructure worthy of those who had preceded him, his efforts had been as honourable as their success had been complete. To avail himself of every opportunity of public usefulness had been the leading characteristic of Mr. Johnson's life. During his shrievalty the defective accommodation of the great metropolitan prison had, in a great measure, been remedied by the important improvements which had been planned and effected by that gentleman in the internal arrangements of the

gaol. For these and other valuable services Mr. Johnson had been greeted on his retirement from the office of sheriff with the unanimous thanks of the livery, and he had, moreover, received, in token of those services, a valuable piece of plate from the Corporation of the City of London itself. As a magistrate, Mr. Johnson had been exact and indefatigable in his attendance, and in the performance of all his duties; and he now entered upon the new and arduous office of Lord Mayor, fully impressed with the responsibility it imposed, and with all and every honourable feeling of ambition to fulfil to the utmost of his power all its requirements."

Having followed our churchwarden to the attainment of the highest position in the gift of his fellow-citizens, and given this sketch of his public career, we must leave him to return to the Guildhall amid renewed demonstrations of the satisfaction with which he had been received at the commencement of his procession.

"Pomps without guilt, of bloodless swords and maces,
Glad chains, warm furs, broad banners and broad faces;
Now night descending, the proud scene was o'er,
But lived in Settle's * numbers one day more.
Now mayors and shrieves, all hushed and satiate lay
Yet ate, in dreams, the custard of the day."

POET.

Alderman Johnson died on 30th December, 1848, and was interred in St. John's Burial Ground, where a plain flat gravestone, graven with the simple letters "Aldⁿ J. J. December 30, 1848," overshadows all the pomp and circumstance of his position, and tells how "death called him to the crowd of common men" in the 57th year of his age.†

* Settle was the last City Poet. His office was to compose yearly panegyrics upon the Lord Mayors, and verses to be spoken in the pageants.

† In collecting the foregoing particulars, two other Aldermen of the same surname have been met with :—

Sir John Johnson, Knight, died 1698, aged 59 and interred in the Church of St. Vedast, Foster Lane.

Thomas Johnson, of the Worshipful Company of Coopers, Alderman of Portsoken Ward in 1840. The Ward Return of his election was rejected three times; but he was ultimately chosen by the Court. He resigned in 1844. (*Citizens of London and their Rulers*. By B. B. Orridge, 1867).

In 1853 a larger and more pretentious monument, in granite, was placed in the burial ground. It lies near the Page-street gate, and is inscribed :—

To the Memory of
John Johnson and Catherine
His wife and of their Son
John Johnson late Alderman
of the City of London.

The first died January 30, 1829
in the 70th year of his age.
The second — March 27, 1846,
in the 83rd year of her age.

Their Son the Alderman—
December 30, 1848, in the 57th
year of his age.

Inscribed by William Johnson their surviving son impressed with a vivid recollection of their ever warm parental care, and in grateful remembrance of his brother's unremitting kindness.

A.D. 1853.

Imperfect as this reference to some of the more prominent names in the long roll of churchwardens must necessarily be, it would be inexcusable to pass over one whose devotedness to all that pertained to the best interests of the parish is yet fresh in the recollection of many who esteemed it a privilege to be associated with him. Mr. Taverner John Miller, of Millbank-street, brought honour to the office of churchwarden in 1840, 1841, and 1855. Among the other parts he bore in the parochial arena may be mentioned the Board of Governors of the Green Coat School, of which he was Treasurer, and the Westminster District Board of Works, by whom he was elected a member of the Metropolitan Board of Works. He was also one of the most constant attendants at the Bench of Magistrates for the St. Margaret's Division, in which the parish of St. John the Evangelist is included. In 1852 he was returned, in conjunction with the late Mr. Du Cane (afterwards Sir Charles Du Cane, K.C.M.G.), to represent Maldon in Parliament. In 1857 Mr. Miller was elected for Colchester, as successor to

Lord John Manners, now Duke of Rutland. Early in 1867 failing health induced him to resign his seat in the House of Commons, and to relinquish his connection with the Metropolitan Board of Works ; and in March of that year death closed a public career which had been remarkable for its activity, and as distinguished for the keen sense of honour dictating every action, as for the unfaltering and absolute confidence reposed in him from the first by his various constituents. In acknowledging the vote of the Vestry carrying with it the customary present of a Prayer Book as a memento of his term of office, Mr. Miller wrote:—

DORSET WHARF,
7th Febry., 1843.

MY DR SIR, .

Perceiving that a Meeting is to be held on Thursday next, I avail myself of this, the earliest opportunity which has offered itself, to request that you will be kind enough to convey to the gentlemen of the Vestry of St. John's my warmest thanks for their handsome present of a Prayer Book which they have been pleased to forward to me through you.

It will be a source of pride and pleasure to me to retain such a token of their approbation of my humble services during the two years that I held the office of Churchwarden, and I shall also esteem it as a lasting testimony to the kindness and liberality of the Vestry, to which I shall ever consider I owe so valuable a memento, rather than to any merits of my own.

To you, individually, permit me to express my gratitude for the handsome manner in which you carried into effect the Vestry's Resolution, and particularly for your happy choice of a day so much dedicated by the sincerest friends to the interchange of friendship's offerings,

And believe me,

My dr Sir,

JAMES HOWELL, ESQ.,
Churchwarden.

Very truly yours,
T. J. MILLER.

Before taking leave of the churchwardens, we are invited to view the interesting memento of office to which those who served between 1801 and 1844 were subscribers, and which has since been transferred from time to time to the custody of the senior churchwarden. It consists of a circular snuff-box in common horn, to which was added

silver ornaments and cases by the office-bearers in the above period, in imitation of the more ancient and pretentious 'Tobacco Box' of the Past Overseers' Society.

The original horn box, with its silver rims and plates weighs	oz. dwt
	5 5
The first case (solid silver) with 'liner' or double lid, and medallions	10 17
The second circular case, solid silver	8 9
The third (octagon) case, partly covered in silver, with hinged lid	8 17
The fourth (octagon) case, covered in silver, with beads or mouldings, and hinged lid	22 18
Total weight of the box and four cases ...	<hr/> 56 6 <hr/>

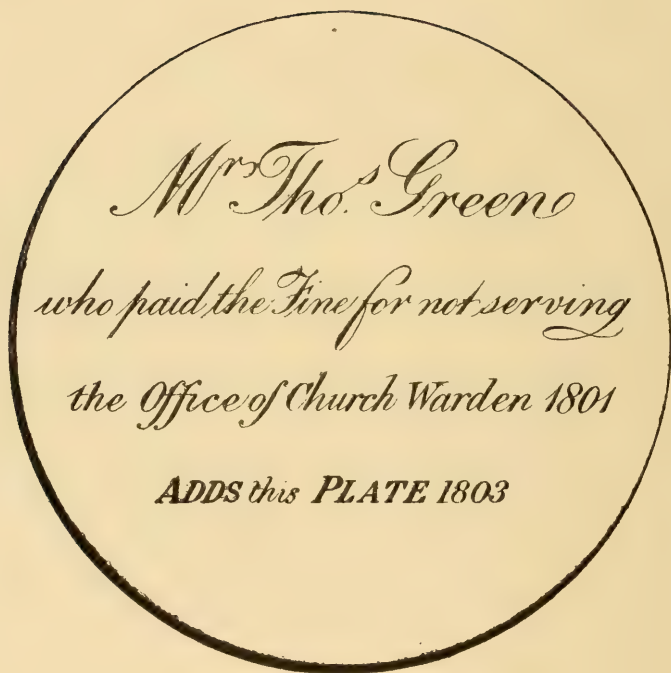
The necessity for a more detailed description is dispensed with by the presentation of *fac simile* reproductions, in the exact size, of the several boxes, engravings and inscriptions.

THE ST. JOHN'S SNUFF BOX.

I.



[The outside of the horn cover. The circular inscription is on the silver rim; that in the centre is on the horn.]



Mr^s Tho^s Greene

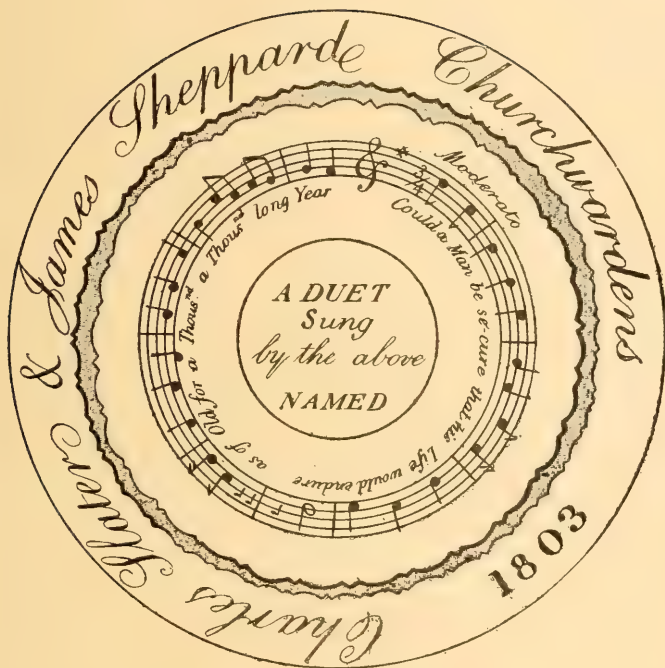
who paid the Fine for not serving

the Office of Church Warden 1801

ADDS this PLATE 1803

[*Silver lining affixed to inside of No. 1.*]

3.



[Bottom of the original horn box, outside. The stippled part represents the uncovered horn.]

4.



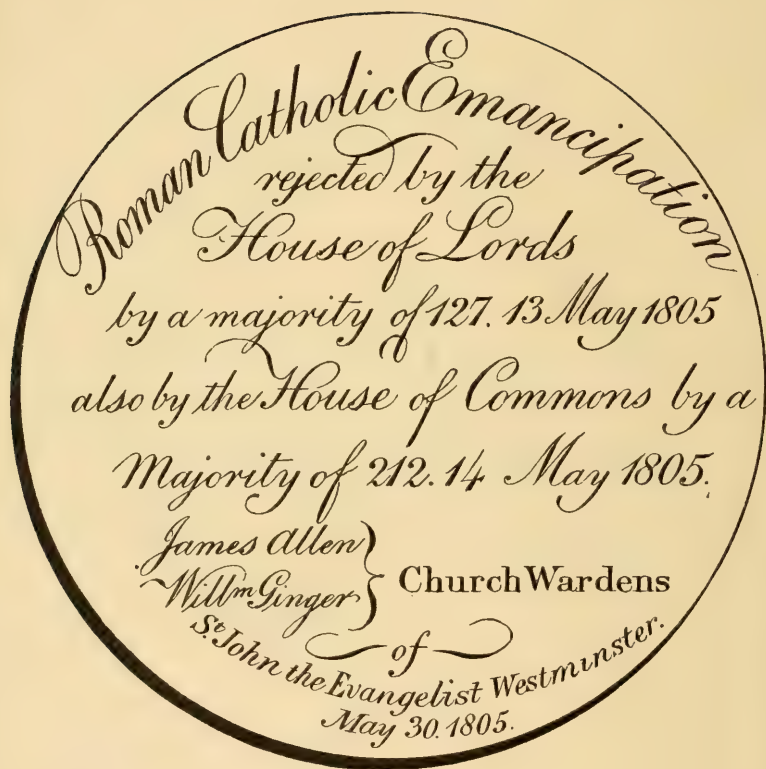
[Engravings on side of first case, with raised medallions separating same.]

5.



[*Silver cover to first case enclosing original box; outside.*]

6.



[In-side of No. 5.]

7.



[*Bottom of first case; out-side. (Inside not engraved).*]

8.



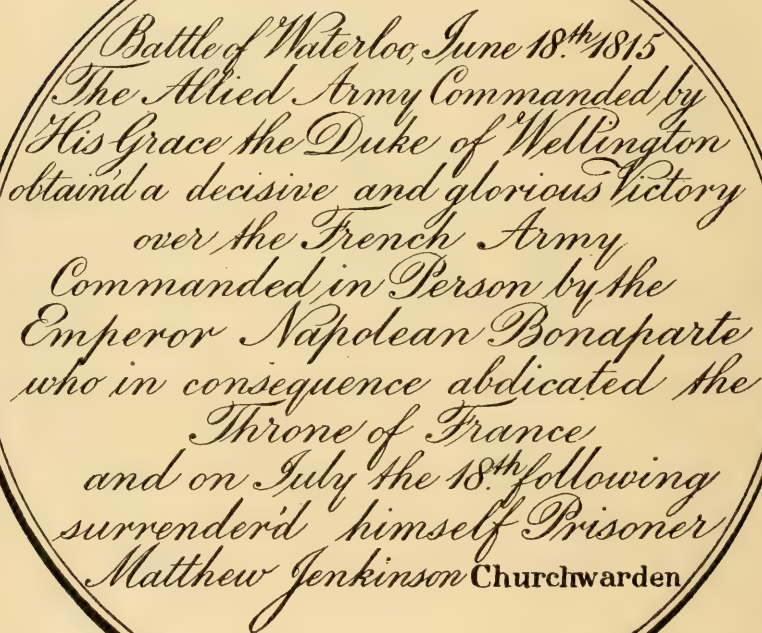
[Moveable Liner in first case; engraved one side only.]

9.



[Cover of second case; outside; raised medallion.]

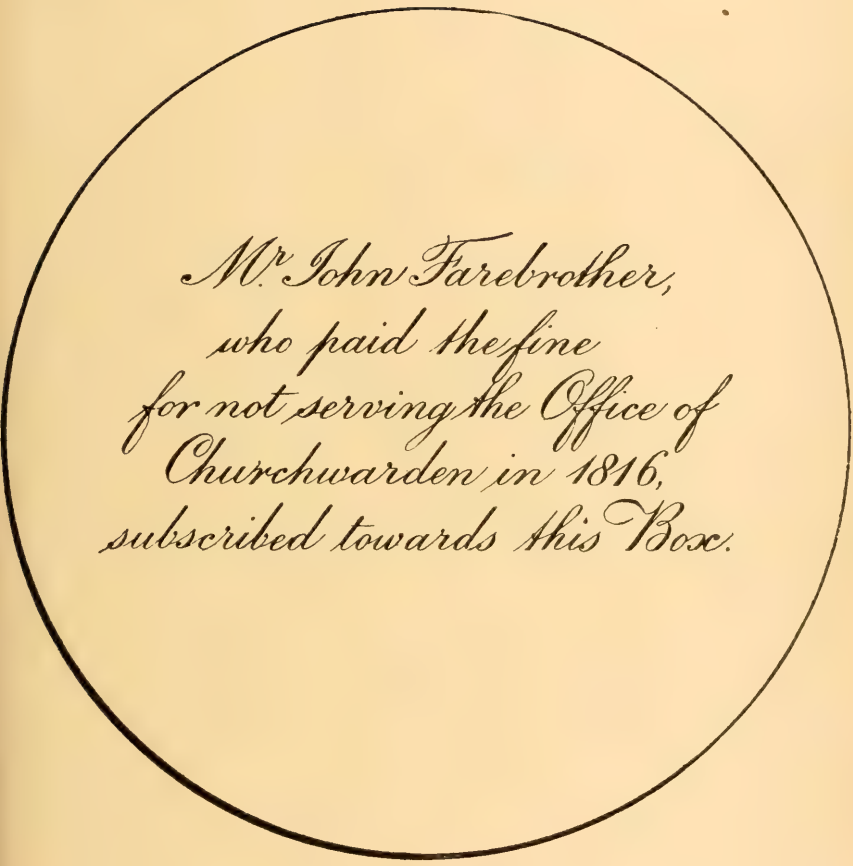
10.



Battle of Waterloo, June 18th 1815
The Allied Army Commanded by
His Grace the Duke of Wellington
obtained a decisive and glorious Victory
over the French Army
Commanded in Person by the
Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte
who in consequence abdicated the
Throne of France
and on July the 18th following
surrendered himself Prisoner
Matthew Jenkinson Churchwarden

[Bottom of second case; outside.]

II.



*Mr John Farebrother,
who paid the fine
for not serving the Office of
Churchwarden in 1816,
subscribed towards this Box.*

[*Inside of No. 9.*]

The St. John's Snuff Box.

12.

*Her Royal Highness the
Princess Charlotte of Wales,
Married to his Serene Highness
Prince Leopold of Sax Coburg, 2nd May, 1816.
John Slater, Churchwarden*

*Her Royal Highness Princess Mary,
Married to his Highness the
Duke of Gloucester
23rd July, 1816,
Thos. Sheppard, Churchwarden.*

[Side of second case.]

13.

*Her Majesty Charlotte Sophia
Princess of Mecklenburgh Strelitz
was Born May 10 1744
Married Sept. 8 1761.*

*Crowned Sept. 22. 1761.
Died Nov. 17. 1818.*

*This Plate & Case Given by
L. Turney Church Warden
24 May 1819.*

*His Majesty King George
the third born June 4th 1738
commenced his Reign
Oct. 25th 1760.*

*Crowned Sep. 22^d 1761
died Jan^y 29th 1820.
this plate added
Jas. Lyon, Churchwarden
1820.*

*His Royal Highness
FREDERICK DUKE of YORK.
Born Augst 16 1763.
Died Jan^y 5. 1827*

*This PLATE added
W.H. JACKSON Church Warden.
1827.*

[Six small silver plates on sides of third (octagon) case.]

14.

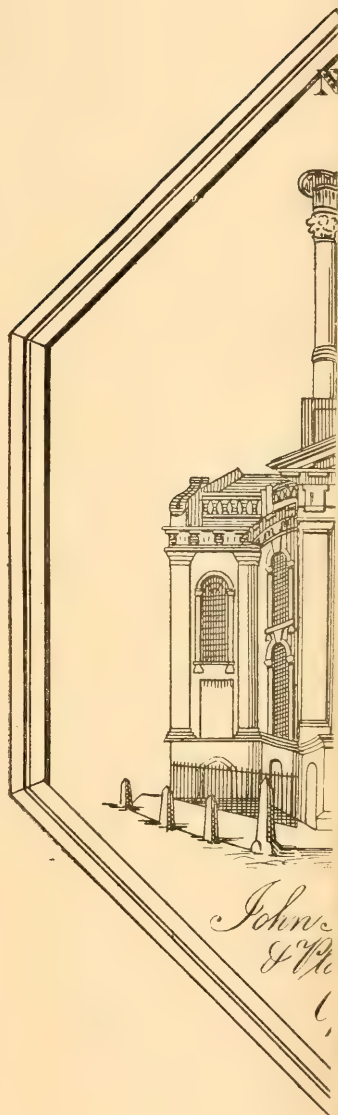
TWO CHURCH CLOCKS
*(one having a transparent Dial
 illuminated during the Night) and three
 Bells erected by subscription on the
 Parish Church of St. John the Evangelist
 Westminster.*
 MAY 1ST 1844. COST £463. 8. 5.

THE IRON RAILING
round St. John's Church extended.
TREES & SHRUBS
Planted within the enclosure.

*St. John's Burial Ground Planted
 Princess Alice Maud Mary.
 Born 25 April 1843
 Prince Alfred Ernest Albert.
 Born 6 AugST 1844.*

THESE 4 PLATES
added by
*Robert Stafford } Churchwardens
 A. L. Mc Bain. }*
1844

[Four small plates on sides of third (octagon) case. Six small spaces, and the bottom of this case are covered in shagreen.]



14.

TWO CHURCH CLOCKS
*(one having a transparent Dial
 illuminated during the Night) and three
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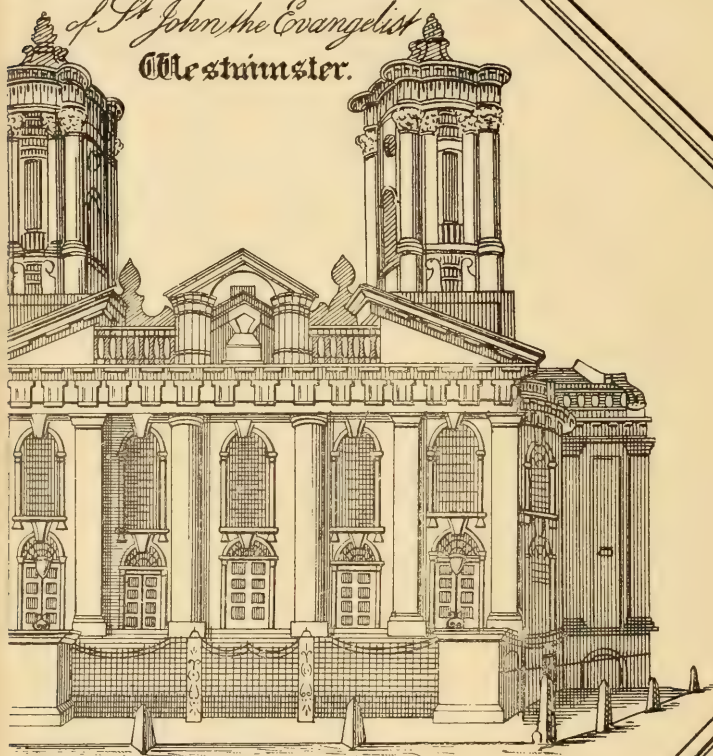
[Four small plates on sides of third (octagon) case. Six small spaces, and the bottom of this case are covered in shagreen.]

15.



[Outside of hinged cover on third case].

ORTH VIEW of the CHURCH
of St John the Evangelist
Westminster.



*Johnson presented the Club with this Box
in remembrance of his having served the
Office of Overseer in the Year 1816-1817*

17.

JOSEPH CARTERWOOD,
JONATHAN SAWYER,
1834. Churchwardens, 1835.

*THE HOUSES OF
PARLIAMENT,
DESTROYED BY FIRE,
16th October, 1834.*

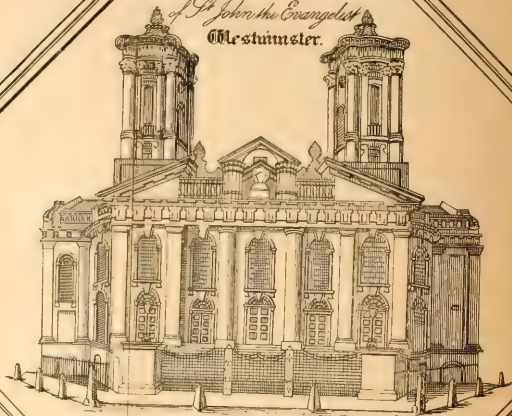
JONATHAN SAWYER,
JOHN JOHNSON,
1835, Churchwardens, 1836.

*THE BOUNDS
OF THE UNITED PARISHES
PERAMBULATED
1835.*

[Plates and moulding on sides of fourth (octagon) case.]

NORTH VIEW of the CHURCH

of St John the Evangelist
Westminster.



*John Johnson presented the Club with this Box
 & Plate in remembrance of his having served the
 Office of Overseer in the Year 1816-1817*

[Top of hinged cover of fourth case.]

17.

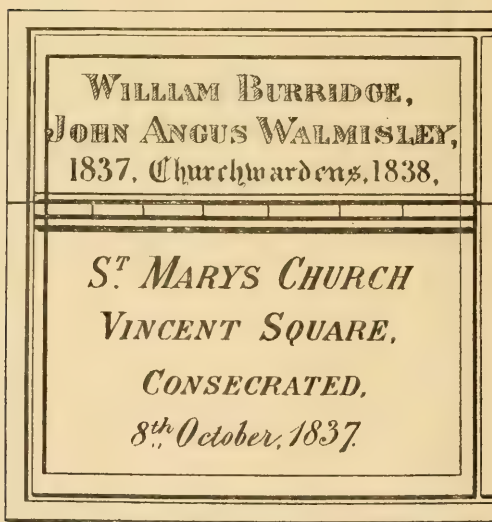
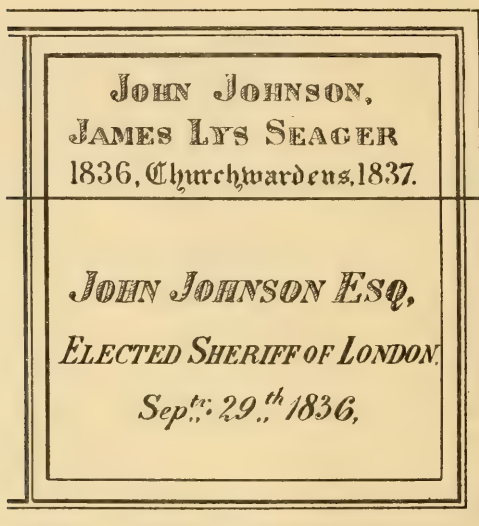
JOSEPH CARTERWOOD,
JONATHAN SAWYER,
1834. Churchwardens. 1835.

*THE HOUSES OF
PARLIAMENT,
DESTROYED BY FIRE,
16th October, 1834.*

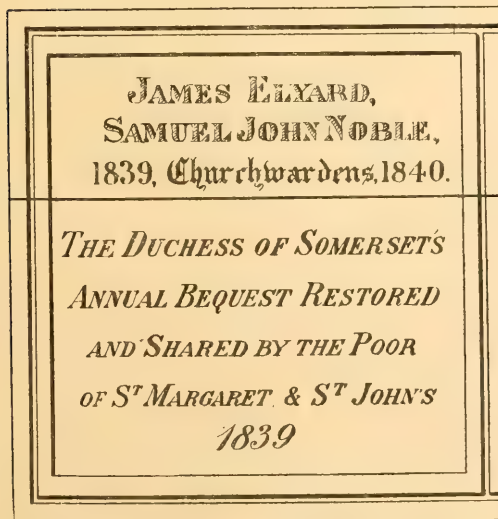
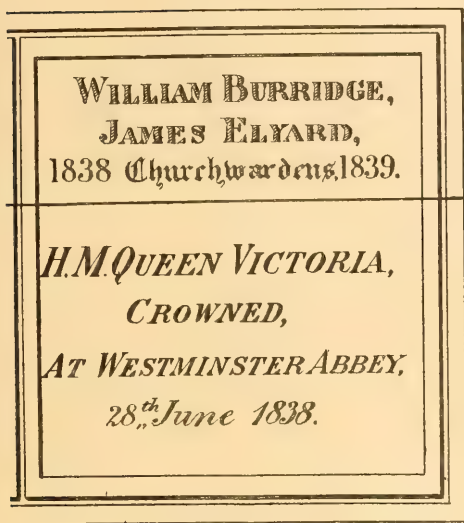
JONATHAN SAWYER,
JOHN JOHNSON,
1835. Churchwardens, 1836.

*THE BOUNDS
OF THE UNITED PARISHES
PERAMBULATED
1835.*

[*Plates and moulding on sides of fourth (octagon) case.*]



19.



[Plates and moulding on sides of fourth (octagon) case.]

SAMUEL JOHN NOBLE,
 TAVERNER JOHN MILLER,
 1840, Churchwardens. 1841.

H.M. QUEEN VICTORIA,
MARRIED,
Feb^{ry} 10th 1840.

H.R.H. PRINCESS ROYAL,
born Nov^r 21st 1840.

TAVERNER JOHN MILLER,
 JAMES HOWELL,
 1841, Churchwardens. 1842.



H.R.H.

ALBERT PRINCE OF WALES,
born 9th Nov^r. 1841.

Q
SHER

Churchwarden.



Interior of
commile
Jari
M

**SAMUEL JOHN NOBLE,
TAVERNER JOHN MILLER,
1840, Churchwardens. 1841.**

*H.M. QUEEN VICTORIA,
MARRIED,
Feb^{ry} 10th 1840.*

*H.R.H. PRINCESS ROYAL,
born Nov^r 21st 1840.*

**TAVERNER JOHN MILLER,
JAMES HOWELL,
1841, Churchwardens. 1842.**

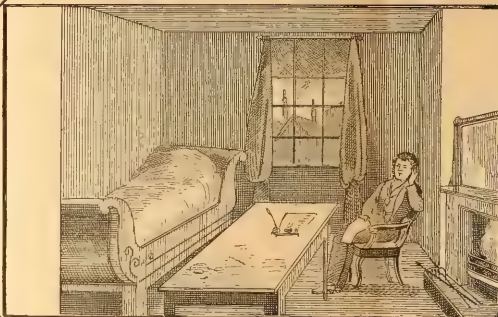


H.R.H.

*ALBERT PRINCE OF WALES,
born 9th Nov^r 1841.*

William Evans Esq^{re}
SHERIFF OF LONDON AND MIDDLESEX
1839. 1840.

Churchwarden.



1833.

1834.

*Interior of the room, in which he was confined when
committed to the custody of the Serjeant at arms
Jan^y 1st 1840, Under the warrant of the
Speaker of the House of Commons*

[Bottom of fourth or outer case; outside.]

In the list of churchwardens from which we have just turned are the names of those who bore other important offices in the parish. Before the facilities offered by local banking houses had extended to Westminster, the parish revenues were entrusted to one of the principal inhabitants, either a resident Justice of the Peace or a substantial business man, equally accessible and in constant touch with the parochial administration. Upon this 'high officer' would devolve the keeping of the accounts and the cash relating to pew rents, the burial fees, the Rector's rate, the poor rate, and the general receipts and expenditure of the parish. Although the labour and responsibility attaching to the position of parish treasurer were considerable, there was little scope for any such officer to distinguish himself; and although the position was not altogether thankless, the annual recognition of the services by a vote of thanks for the care and attention with which the accounts had been kept assumed almost a stereotyped form. For a hundred years—the account was not permanently transferred to a banker until 1830—only one exception to the customary form of acknowledgment is recorded. This occurred in 1815, when the treasurer, having £863 of parish cash in his hands, absconded. An "extent" was issued against his estate for £41,000, his assets being estimated at £10,000. An account was thereupon opened at the Bank of England; but the inconvenience was such as to lead to a return to the former system within a few months, when the gentleman who accepted the office volunteered personal security.

A brief notice must now be accorded to the overseers who, at the time the parish was formed, were in the zenith of their power, and the personification of all that is now conveyed by the phrase 'the parish.' Upon these public spirited and zealous citizens devolved the onerous and arduous duties performed by the relieving officers employed by the Board of Guardians in the present day.* The rates

* An essay tracing the changes in the duties of Overseers from 1535, when the office was instituted, to the present time, was incorporated in the book published on "The Westminster Tobacco Box," in 1887.

made, the defaulters summoned, the distraints levied nowadays by 'the parish,' were in a great measure controlled by the Overseers. The destitute poor, clamouring for relief, the sick poor needing medical treatment, the dead lying unburied from want of means, the orphan requiring protection or to be 'boarded out,' or the lunatic endangering himself and others until placed under restraint, all occasioned applications to the Overseers as they do now to 'the parish.' The ear of these officers had always to be open to the cry of distressed women and hungry children, their eye had to be quick to detect the impostor, and their hand ever ready to relieve the wayworn and penniless traveller; while their share in the management of the workhouse, the apprenticeship of children, the dispensing of relief, and the removal of paupers to their places of legal "settlement," necessitated attendances at meetings, and made such demands upon their time as only men of considerable leisure could afford:—

His house was known to all the vagrant train,
He chid their wanderings, but relieved their pain.

The ruined spend-thrift, now no longer proud,
Claimed kindred there, and had his claim allowed.

Nearly all the statutes, from the Reformation period to the present time, provide for the imposition of penalties upon the bearers of the office in case of neglect, default, or malversation; yet the records of this parish do not contain a single entry of any such penalty having been imposed. There are numerous entries, however, of sums forfeited by those nominated, but declining to serve the office. The penalty, which was £12 in each case, was credited to the parish funds. A writer in *Notes and Queries* (8th. S. ii. p. 117) refers to a ballad, entitled "The Overseer," in vogue some forty years ago, consisting of half-a-dozen verses in the following strain:—

Some people are always contending
The times are so bad they want mending,
And boast of the good they're intending
If they could but in office appear.

Now to me it ne'er matter'd one pin
 Who was out of office or in,
 For my part I felt quite 'don't carish,'
 For I found things went on pretty farish,
 Till I'd lived a few years in the parish,
 When they made me an overseer !

With a chorus to each verse :—

But if you prefer care and vexation,
 And to work without remuneration,
 You should aim at parochial station,
 And get chosen an overseer.

A small local newspaper, which had a short-lived circulation in the parish in 1848, records that the following lines were written on the wall of a police cell, by a tramp who had been given into custody by the overseers for a breach of workhouse discipline :—

May the great God above,
 In His very kind love,
 Send down lots o' very sharp chissels,
 To cut off the ears
 Of our cruel Overseers,
 What won't give us poor paupers more wittels.

From 1693 to 1728, the year in which the parish of St. John was constituted, the Magistrates had annually appointed six overseers for the parish of St. Margaret. From 1728 to 1749, they continued the practice without distinguishing those appointed in behalf of St. John's. From 1750 to 1752 four overseers were appointed for St. Margaret's and two for St. John's each year. From 1752 to 1827 two were appointed annually for St. Margaret's and one for St John's ; thenceforward, two were appointed, year by year, for each parish. With the exception of a few years in respect of which the accounts have not been preserved, the following is a complete list of the overseers of St. John's parish from 1750 :—

1750-1. John Williams	Richard Harvey
1751-2. George Fullock	Joseph Carr
1752-3. Thomas Clarke	Thomas Sherratt
1753-4. John Ruffe	1754-5. John Niblett
1755-6. John Niblett	1756-7. Timothy Carter
1757-8. Timothy Carter	1758-9. (<i>Accounts missing</i>)

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1759-60. John Price | 1760-1. William Young |
| 1761-2. Matthew Nesham | 1762-3. William Stratford |
| 1763-4. John Cox | 1764-5. Thomas Gayfer |
| 1765-6. William Eves | 1766-7. Mathew Wiggins |
| 1767-8. Robert Conyers, decd. | George Byfield in his place |
| 1768-9. Morris Marsault | 1769-70. (<i>Accounts missing</i>) |
| 1770-1. (<i>Accounts missing</i>) | 1771-2. Thomas Greenaway |
| 1772-3. (<i>Accounts missing</i>) | 1773-4. William Ginger |
| 1774-5. George Graves | 1775-6. William Weller |
| 1776-7. Charles Clarke | 1777-8. William Davis |
| 1778-9. John Williams | 1779-80. John Vidler |
| 1780-1. Samuel Harris | 1781-2. Robert Reeves |
| 1782-3. Johnson West | 1783-4. John Gaunt |
| 1784-5. John Mitchell | 1785-6. John Ansell |
| 1786-7. (<i>Accounts missing</i>) | 1787-8. John Morris |
| 1788-9. Samuel Darling | 1789-90. (<i>Accounts missing</i>) |
| 1790-1. Thomas Green | 1791-2. John Price |
| 1792-3. Alexander Taylor | 1793-4. (<i>Accounts missing</i>) |
| 1794-5. James Sheppard | 1795-6. Grant Harris |
| 1796-7. Jonathan Hitchin | 1797-8. Henry Doughty |
| 1798-9. Edward Glanville | 1799-1800. Thomas Hewson |
| 1800-1. Joseph Saunders | 1801-2. Matthew Jenkinson |
| 1802-3. Noah Baber | 1803-4. Joseph Wright |
| 1804-5. Richard Monkhouse | 1805-6. Thomas Stapleton |
| 1806-7. Henry Frederick Holt | 1807-8. Joseph Lyon |
| 1808-9. William Burridge | 1809-10. Richard Maskell |
| 1810-11. William Burridge | 1811-12. James Firth |
| 1812-13. John Eversfield | 1813-14. Geo. Henry Malme |
| 1814-15. Geo. Henry Malme | 1815-16. John Simpson |
| 1816-17. John Johnson, Junr. | 1817-18. Thomas Aldin |
| 1818-19. Gabriel Riddle | 1819-20. William Hayward |
| 1820-1. Thomas Mitchell | 1821-2. Archibald Michie |
| 1822-3. Archibald Michie | 1823-4. George Pink |
| 1824-5. George Pink | 1825-6. George Hayden |
| 1826-7. Samuel John Noble | 1827-8. Francis Richman |
| 1828-9. Jonathan Sawyer | John Pryer |
| 1829-30. Jonathan Sawyer | Francis Painter |
| 1830-1. John Alsept | James Dike |
| 1831-2. James Dike | John Alsept |
| 1832-3. Thomas Arber | Thomas Cropp |
| 1833-4. Timothy Thorne | Thomas Estell |
| 1834-5. Robt. Alex. Warne (decd.) | William Burridge |
| James Firth, jun., in his place | |
| 1835-6. William Cleave | James Thomas Bottomley |
| 1836-7. Horace Boys | William Dalton |
| 1837-8. William Mansell Haydon | John Montague |
| 1838-9. William Mansell Haydon | Alex. Lachlan McBain |
| 1839-40. Alex. Lachlan McBain | George Burridge |

1840-1.	Benjamin Hudson	George Tucker
1841-2.	Godfree William Ginger	Andrew Mallock
1842-3.	Adam Dick	George Theophilus Trickett
1843-4.	George Estall	Samuel Hemmings
1844-5.	Wm. Richard Gritten	Joseph Bennett
1845-6.	Thomas Eversfield	William Woolley
1846-7.	William Woolley	John Downey
1847-8.	John Downey	Henry Castle
1848-9.	Edward Grose	William Stamp
1849-50.	Wm. Henry Hattersley	John Norris
1850-1.	Wm. Henry Hattersley	John Norris
1851-2.	Robert Boyd	William Urry
1852-3.	Robert Boyd	William Urry
1853-4.	William Urry	David Mallock
1854-5.	Henry Stephen Ridley	William Bottrill
1855-6.	George Ray	Job Cook
1856-7.	Job Cook	Henry Beecher
1857-8.	Henry Beecher	James Howell
1858-9.	James Howell	John King Deakin
1859-60.	John King Deakin	Thomas Horn
1860-1.	Thomas Horn	Henry Potter
1861-2.	Henry Potter	William Farmiloe
1862-3.	Henry Potter	John Dalton
1863-4.	Henry Potter	John Thomas Fenn
1864-5.	John Thomas Fenn	Frederick Dowling
1865-6.	John Thomas Fenn	Frederick Dowling
1866-7.	Frederick Dowling	Henry Bingley
1867-8.	Henry Bingley	A. Castle
1868-9.	Henry Bingley	A. Castle
1869-70.	J. W. Tyler	Samuel McIntyre
1870-1.	Samuel McIntyre	George Cook
1871-2.	George Cook	George Adams
1872-3.	George Cook	Wm. John Bennett
1873-4.	Wm. John Bennett	Wm. Jopling
1874-5.	Wm. John Bennett	James Margrie
1875-6.	James Margrie	Harry Nelson Bowman Spink
1876-7.	H. N. Bowman Spink	Zephaniah Deacon Berry
1877-8.	H. N. Bowman Spink	Zephaniah Deacon Berry
1878-9.	Thomas John Tayton	Thomas Holder
1879-80.	Thomas John Tayton	Thomas Holder
1880-1.	Herman Olsen Hamborg	William Henry Baker
1881-2.	Wm. Hy. Baker	Chas. Christmas Piper
1882-3.	Wm. Hy. Baker	Chas. Christmas Piper
1883-4.	Wm. Hy. Baker	Chas. Christmas Piper
1884-5.	Herman Olsen Hamborg	John Hayler
1885-6.	Herman Olsen Hamborg	John Hayler
1886-7.	Frederick Rose	Charles Wright
1887-8.	Frederick Rose	Charles Wright

1888-9. Frederick Rose	Thomas William Davies
1889-90. Thomas William Davies	Zephaniah Augustin Berry
1890-1. Zephaniah Augustin Berry	James Gibson
1891-2. James Gibson	James Lane (deceased)
	George John Chapple in his place
1892-3. George John Chapple	Henry William Budd

A comparison of this list, with that of the churchwardens (*see pp.* 135-8), will show that the majority of names appear in both lists, an evidence that the fidelity and ability with which the duties of the overseership had been discharged, obtained in due rotation for the gentlemen who had fulfilled those duties, the highest position in the gift of the parishioners—that of the churchwardenship. Within the last five years, however, non-residence at their business places, and consequent absence from town on Sundays, has prevented the advancement of three past overseers to that honour.

The overseers appointed by the magistrates for St. John's parish, become members of "The Past Overseers' Society of St. Margaret and St. John the Evangelist, Westminster," an institution without a rival in the metropolis or elsewhere. The Society, which had its origin in 1713, was the means of affording the office bearers for the time being the opportunity of conferring with the past officers upon questions of practice arising in the course of the duties; but owing to the extent to which the more arduous of those duties have passed into other hands, under the legislation of the last half century, the Society has assumed more exclusively the nature of a social institution. To this Society belongs the incomparable collection of engraved silver plates, and ornaments, mounted on cases of various shapes and sizes, and known far and wide as "The Westminster Tobacco Box."

"And from his pocket next he takes
His shining horn tobacco box;
And, in a light and careless way,
As men who with their purpose play,
Upon the lid he knocks."

WORDSWORTH.

When it is stated that the publication of the engravings, with some historical notes on the office and on the Society, undertaken by the Overseers for 1887-8 (4to., 106 pp.) cost £294, it will be seen that the reproduction either of the plates or the letter-press herewith is as effectually prohibited by want of space as by cost. Mr. Frederick Rose, 'the custodian of the Box' in 1886-7, gave an exhibition of it to a large and fashionable circle by invitation, and prepared for the information of his guests a description which, from its conciseness, may fittingly find a place here. Mr. Rose says:—

"So much interest attaches to what is generally known as the 'Westminster Tobacco Box,' that a volume rather than a paragraph would be required to relate its history or to describe its ornaments.

"To tell its story as briefly as possible it may be said that at the end of the seventeenth and commencement of the eighteenth centuries, when the duties of the Overseers included the administration of relief to the poor, and other matters now devolving upon paid 'Relieving Officers,' it was customary for the Overseers for the time being to meet their predecessors in office at one of the principal taverns in the parish to 'compare notes,' to confer on parochial matters generally, and to 'drown their cares in a cloud of smoke.' The mutual profit and the pleasant intercourse afforded by these meetings resulted in the formation of the 'Past Overseers' Society,' to whom was presented, in 1713, by Henry Monck, one of their number, a horn tobacco box, of about three-ounce capacity, which was said to have been bought at Horn Fair, Plumstead, for the modest price of fourpence. In recognition of the gift, the recipients decorated it with a rim of silver, bearing the donor's name. On the appointment of new Overseers the custody of the box was entrusted to the senior member of their body, who, with his colleagues, placed an inscribed silver ornament on the lid. The Overseers for the next year affixed a band of silver on the sides; others, in their turn, added further plates, until the box was entirely covered with engraved silver. An outer case was then found necessary, and gradually became enclosed in silver in like manner, each body of Overseers adding some ornament during their year of office. This case in its turn was enclosed in another, oval in form like the original box, and so with a third case, octagon in shape, having a double lid to admit more plates, and a fourth, round, with a magnificent embossed cover, which in the course of years found itself deposited in a fifth case, octagon in shape, with a hinged door, hidden inside and out by silver plates. This is some eighteen inches in height, and about fifteen years ago was provided with a pedestal and cover in oak, capable of bearing some forty or more plates, many of the spaces being

already occupied. In addition to the names of the Overseers for the year, most of these plates record, and some illustrate, the principal national and local events of the year. The additions of a hundred and seventy-three years have increased the dimensions of the 'box' from about three inches by five, to about twenty-four inches across by thirty inches high ; in weight it has grown from a few ounces to rather over a hundred pounds, while the 'compound interest' of the original fourpence is simply incalculable—for notwithstanding the great intrinsic value of the silver, neither the records nor the engravings could be replaced. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Past Overseers' Society regard the preservation of the 'box' with great anxiety,—a care which its history fully justifies, for in 1785, when the value was much less than now, the melting-pot had been prepared for its reception by burglars, who, on seeking it in the house of Mr. Gilbert, the Overseer in possession, were fortunately disappointed of their spoil, through its having been securely placed out of reach.* This escape was shortly followed by jeopardy of another kind. In 1793 the box passed in the ordinary way to the custody of Mr. Overseer James Read, whose accounts the Vestry subsequently declined to pass. The accounts showed a balance due to the accountant, and the refusal to pass them was interpreted as an objection to pay Mr. Read that balance. He thereupon threatened the destruction of his silver charge, upon which a bill in Chancery was filed against him, and an Order of the Court made for the delivery of the box in the charge of Master Leeds, pending the result of the suit. After three years' suspense, Lord Chancellor Loughborough, in finding for the plaintiffs, ordered that the box and its cases be restored,—a decision which is the subject of a special plate, headed, 'Justice Triumphant! Fraud defeated!! The Box Restored!!!' The plaintiffs' costs in the case were £376 13s. 11d. of which £300 was paid by the defendant, the balance, besides the cost of the special plate, having been readily subscribed by the Society.

Having escaped two dangers, 'the box' was placed in jeopardy a third time in 1837, when a fire broke out in the house of Mr. Edward Milns, the overseer in charge. Its preservation was due to the thoughtfulness of Mrs. Milns, who, while her husband was endeavouring to save his books and business papers, rushed to 'the box' just in time to rescue it from destruction. Being then much smaller than it is now, Mrs. Milns was able to carry it to a neighbour's house and place it again in security.

"Some little ceremony attends the transfer of the treasure from the outgoing to the incoming Overseer, which cannot here be detailed ; but among the conditions upon which such transfer is made, is one 'that the box and its cases are to be produced at all parochial enter-

* To reduce such a risk to a minimum in the future, the Society have recently arranged, for the safe deposit of the "Box" in a fire-proof strong room, where it is now kept under the control of the Overseer in charge.

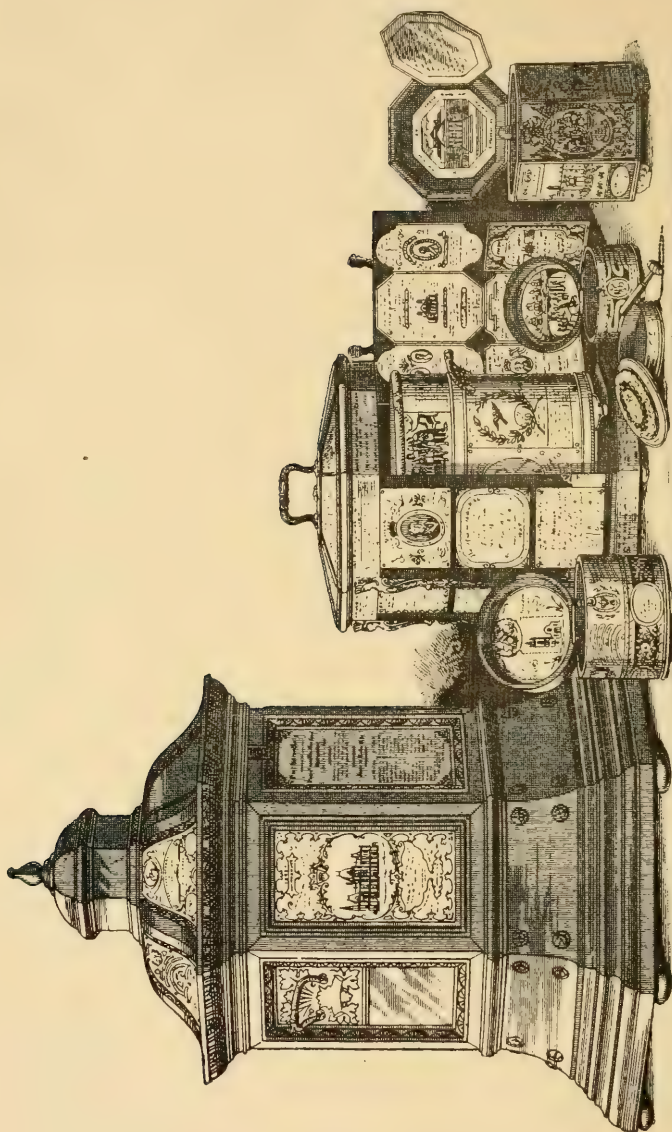
tainments and to contain three pipes of tobacco at the least, under the penalty of six bottles of claret." The transferee is also bound under a penalty to restore the box and cases, with some additional ornament, when called upon, to which end he has further to give two personal sureties in the sum of two hundred guineas each.

"Of the engravings, it is impossible to name even a tithe here. Some display considerable taste in design and skill in execution, others less so ; but uniform excellence cannot be expected where the object has been transitory for 173 years, and where the custodians for the time being have had perfect liberty in the choice alike of subject, design, and engraver. The Overseers of 1746-7 were fortunate enough to secure a characteristic engraving by the famous Hogarth, who produced, with appropriate surroundings, a portrait of H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland, in commemoration of his defeat of the rebels at the Battle of Culloden. Another portrait is that of the notorious John Wilkes, who served as Churchwarden of St. Margaret's shortly before he rose to the dignity of the Civic Chair, and whose signature as a Local Justice of the Peace still exists on many a document in the parish muniment room at the Town Hall. Many of the illustrations are worthy of special notice, and will amply repay the closest examination : but space forbids further reference here.

"The Overseers of 1860-1 were specially honoured in being commanded to exhibit the box and its cases to Her Majesty the Queen, who, with H.R.H. Prince Consort, and the Royal Princesses and Princes, were very deeply interested, as expressed in a letter filed with the books of the Society. In 1877 the treasure was exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries, since which it has been sought out and admired by members of other learned societies, as well as by British and Foreign Antiquaries, to whom its fame has reached by the notices published in various historical and antiquarian books and papers."

The cost of the plates and ornaments, which is defrayed by the private subscriptions of the Overseers for the time being, varies according to the size and engraving. The outlay on those added in commemoration of the Queen's Jubilee in 1887 exceeded £50 ; the average is generally about £12.

A drawing of the box and its cases, as they appeared in 1887, before the outer case had been surmounted by the statuette of Her Majesty, is reproduced on the next page.



When displayed in company with the elegant 'Cigar Box' of the St. Margaret's Vestry Club, the smaller, but none the less solid 'Snuff Box' of the St. John's churchwardens, and the massive 'Loving Cup' and dish of the

St. Margaret's Vestry (*see p.* 110), the whole forms a collection of silver which may safely claim to be unequalled in any other parish.

Before taking leave of the officers of the parish, we may be permitted to pause while the vestry clerks bring up the rear. As they are not numerous we may give their names and their years of office :—

Robert Prior	...	...	...	...	1728—1735
George Cleeter	...	...	...	...	1735—1753
George Cleeter the younger	...	...	...	...	1753—1763
William Langley	...	...	...	...	1762—1795
Mark Daniel	...	...	...	...	1795—1809
John Daniel	...	...	...	...	1809—1835
Mark Daniel	...	...	...	...	1835—1841
John R. L. Walmisley	...	...	...	...	1841—1891 •
John Edward Smith	...	...	...	...	1891

The parish attorney was rarely called upon to act. His principal duty was to draw 'statements of case' for the opinion of counsel learned in the law on doubtful points, and in some few instances during the first century of the Vestry's existence to instruct counsel in the defence of the parochial interests. Of the parish clerk, the sexton, the bearers, the searchers, and others holding numerous minor offices in the parish—

"Their ashes undistinguished lie,
Their place, their power, their memory die."



CHAPTER VII.

SELF-GOVERNMENT

“ My soul aches
To know, when two authorities are up,
Neither supreme, how soon confusion
May enter 'twixt the gap of both, and take
The one by the other.”
“ CORIOLANUS.”

“ For forms of government let fools contest ;
Whate'er is best administered is best.”
POPE.

“ The nicest constitutions of government are often like the finest pieces of clock-work which, depending on so many motions, are therefore more subject to be out of order.”—POPE.

Constitution of the Vestry.—Its duties.—Relations with Vestry of St. Margaret's.—Insufficiency of powers.—Condition of streets.—Petitions to Parliament.—Creation of subsidiary bodies and commissions.—Futile adoption of Hobhouse's Act.—The dawn of improvement.—The Amendment Act of 1887.—The Library Commissioners.—The Baths and Wash-houses Commissioners.—The Burial Board.—The Watch.—Street lighting.—Introduction of gas.—Wood-paving.—Protection against fire.—Tothill Fields Trust.

BEFORE the constitution of the parish in 1724 there were two local bodies—the Court of Burgesses and the Vestry of St. Margaret's—exercising jurisdiction within its area. The incorporation of the Court of Burgesses and the original constitution of the Vestry, with the respective powers and duties of the two bodies, were reviewed somewhat fully in *Local Government in Westminster*, published in 1889. The present retrospect may therefore be limited to the parochial administration within the boundaries and since the formation of the parish.

By the Act of 10 Anne, cap. 11, sec. xx., the Commissioners were authorised “ to name a convenient number of sufficient inhabitants . . . to be vestrymen of such new

parish, who shall have and exercise the like powers and authorities for ordering and regulating the affairs of such new parish as the vestrymen of the present parish" of St. Margaret. In pursuance of that authority an Instrument was sealed on 21st February, 1728, of which the following is a copy :—

AN INSTRUMENT

For appointing a Vestry in the Parish of Saint John the Evangelist, Westminster.—Anno Domini, 1728.

TO all Men to whom these Presents shall come, The Most Reverend Father in God *William* Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England* and Metropolitan, The Right Reverend Father in God *Edmond* Lord Bishop of *London*, The Right Reverend Father in God *William* Lord Bishop of *Durham*, *Thomas* Lord Bishop of *Ely*, *William* late Lord Bishop of *Bangor* now Lord Bishop of *Norwich*, *John* Lord Bishop of *Carlisle*, *Edward* Lord Bishop of *Chichester*, and *Samuel* Lord Bishop of *Chester*, Sir *John Phillips* Baronet, Sir *William Ogborn* Knight, *Martin Blayden*, *John Conduit*, *Robert Jacomb*, *John Ellis*, and *Edward Peck*, Esquires, fourteen of the Commissioners (amongst others) nominated and appointed by His present Majesty King *George* the Second, by his Letters Patent under the Great Seal of *Great Britain*, bearing date at *Westminster* the twenty-fourth day of *November* in the first year of His said Majesty's Reign, for putting in execution the several powers and authorities contained in an Act of Parliament made in the ninth year of the reign of Her late Majesty Queen *Anne*, intituled *An Act for granting to Her Majesty several duties on Coals, for building Fifty new Churches in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, and Suburbs thereof, and other purposes therein mentioned*; and in one other Act made in the tenth year of the reign of Her said late Majesty, for enlarging the time given to the Commissioners appointed pursuant to the said former Act, and also for giving the Commissioners further powers for better effecting the same, and for appointing monies for rebuilding the parish Church of *Saint Mary Woolnoth*, in the City of *London*; and in an Act made in the first year of the reign of His late Majesty King *George* the First, intituled *An Act for making Provision for the Ministers of the Fifty new Churches which are to be built in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, and Suburbs thereof, and for rebuilding and finishing the Parish Church of Saint Mary Woolnoth, in the said City of London*; and in one other Act made in the fifth year of the reign of His said late Majesty, intituled *An Act for continuing certain Duties upon Coals and Culm, and for establishing certain Funds to raise Money, as well to proceed in the building of new Churches as also to complete the Supply granted to His Majesty, and to reserve the Overplus Monies of the said Duties for the Disposition of Parliament, and for more effectually suppressing private Lotteries*, send greeting: Whereas by an

instrument in writing on parchment, under the hands and seals of the said *Edmond* Lord Bishop of *London*, *John* Lord Bishop of *Saint Asaph*, the said *John* Lord Bishop of *Carlisle*, the said Sir *John Phillips* Baronet, and *John Ellis* Esquire, five of the said Commissioners, bearing date the eighth day of *January* which was in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty-four, and since inrolled in the High Court of Chancery, the said Commissioners, whose hands and seals are thereto set and affixed, did, in pursuance of the said Acts of Parliament, some or one of them, and of the Letters Patent of His said late Majesty King *George* the First, under the Great Seal of *Great Britain*, bearing date at *Westminster* the second day of *December* in the second year of His said late Majesty's reign ; and by virtue of the powers and authorities therein mentioned, declare, direct, and appoint, that the new Church situate in *Millbank*, in the parish of *Saint Margaret Westminster*, in the county of *Middlesex*, should be, and was thereby declared to be, from and for ever after the inrolment of the said Instrument, and the consecration of the said Church, made a parish Church, and did also, by the said Instrument or Writing, direct and appoint that there should be a parish to the said Church, and did thereby set out, ascertain, and appoint the limits and bounds, district and division of and for such parish to be such and in manner as therein are set forth and described : And whereas the Right Reverend Father in God *Samuel* Lord Bishop of *Rochester*, Dean of the Collegiate Church of *Saint Peter* in *Westminster*, and the Chapter of the said Church, Ordinary of the place wherein the said new Church doth stand, did, on *Thursday* the twentieth day of *June* last past, before the date hereof, duly consecrate the said Church, and in the act of consecration thereof called the same by the name of the Church of *Saint John the Evangelist*, in the city of *Westminster*, in the county of *Middlesex*, as by the said Act of the Consecration thereof, remaining in the Registry of the Consistory Court, within the peculiar and exempt jurisdiction of the said Dean and Chapter, may appear ; and by the means aforesaid, and by force and virtue of the said Acts of Parliament, or some or one of them, the said new Church is made and became a parish Church, and the district allotted for a parish thereto is become a new parish, by the name of the Church and Parish of *Saint John the Evangelist*, in the city of *Westminster*, in the county of *Middlesex*.

Now know ye, That the said Commissioners first above named, Five or more of them, whose hands and seals are hereto set and affixed, by virtue and in pursuance of the powers and authorities given by the said Letters Patent of His present Majesty, and the said Acts of Parliament, some or one of them, have nominated and elected, by and with the consent of the said Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church of *Saint Peter* in *Westminster*, Ordinary of the said place, testified by their affixing their common seal to these Presents, do by this present Instrument in writing under their hands and seals, intended to be inrolled in the said High Court of Chancery, nominate,

elect, and appoint the Honourable *James Bertie* Esquire, *Sir Richard Grosvenor* Baronet, *Sir Thomas Crosse* Baronet, *John Cross* Esquire, *Richard Farwell* Esquire, *John Llowndes* Esquire, *Francis Sorrel* Esquire, *Henry Trent* Esquire, *Brigadier Watkins*, *Colonel Joseph Ferrers*, *Philip Monson* Esquire, *William Young* Esquire, *John Sayer* Esquire, *George Wright* Esquire, *Nicholas Hawksmore* Esquire, *Edmond Ball* Gentleman, *Michael Askew* Gentleman, *Andrew Parsons* Gentleman, *Robert Crosse* Gentleman, *Robert White* Gentleman, *Vincent Bourne* Gentleman, *Edmund Fitzgerald* Gentleman, *Robert Webber* Gentleman, *Emery Arguis* Gentleman, *George Mortimer* Gentleman, *Thomas Wisdom* Gentleman, Captain *John Rusden*, *Thomas Hammond* Gentleman, *William French* Woodmonger, *Thomas Churchill* Bricklayer, *John Mackereth* Lime Merchant, *William Tuffnell* Bricklayer, *William Paul* Brewer, *William Eyres* Carpenter, *Robert Churchill* Mason, *John Bacchus* Carpenter, *Matthew Fisher* Oilman, *Roger Jackson* Brewer, *Robert Walrond* Timber Merchant, *John Willis* Carpenter, *John Smallwell* Joiner, *Benjamin Barker* Bookseller, *Samuel Harvey* Farmer, and *Thomas Hipsley* Bricklayer, and the Minister and Churchwardens of the said parish and parish church for the time being, (being sufficient inhabitants of the said new parish, and a convenient number of the same) to be Vestrymen of and for the said new parish of *Saint John the Evangelist*, and do appoint that the number of persons whereof the said Vestry shall consist, shall not any time exceed forty-four, besides the Rector and Churchwardens for the time being, who shall be always of the said Vestry during their continuance in such office respectively. In witness whereof the said Commissioners first above named, five or more of them, have hereunto set their hands and seals; and the said Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church of *Saint Peter* in *Westminster* in testimony of their consent above mentioned, have hereunto caused to be affixed their common seal, this twenty-first day of *February*, in the second year of the reign of His Majesty *George* the Second, of *Great Britain, France, and Ireland*, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Annoq. Dom. One thousand seven hundred and twenty-eight.

SAM^l (L. S.) CESTRIENS.

EDM^d (L. S.) LONDON.

W. (L. S.) DURESME.

EDWARD (L. S.) CHICHESTER.

JO. (L. S.) CARLISLE.

SAM^l (L. S.) ROFFEN.

Sealed and delivered by the within named *Samuel* Lord Bishop of *Chester*, *Edmond* Lord Bishop of *London*, *John* Lord Bishop of *Carlisle*, *William* Lord Bishop of *Durham*, and *Edward* Lord Bishop of *Chichester*. In the presence of

JENKIN THOMAS PHILLIPS

Secretary to the said Commissioners.

Inrolled in the High Court of Chancery, 1728,

Thus constituted, the Vestry met for the first time on 11th March, 1728, when Dr. Gee, Dean of Lincoln, curate of St. Margaret's, and officiating rector of the new parish, presided over an attendance of thirty-seven members. At this and several subsequent meetings, the appointment of the church servants, the letting of pews, the settlement of a table of rents for the same, and other business connected with the affairs of the church occupied the principal portion of the time. The attention given to this department of their duty, as also to the burial ground and the election of churchwardens, has already been touched upon in the chapters assigned to those subjects, and need not therefore be further referred to here.

In relation to the important duties connected with the levying of rates for the church, the poor, the highways, the appointment and regulation of the watch, and other purposes, the Vestry were required to co-operate with their neighbours of St. Margaret's, the steps prescribed by sec. xxii. of the 10 Annæ, cap. II., for "the effectual and perpetual division of the parishes" in this respect never having been taken. Independence was, however, reserved to, and exercised by the Vestry of St. John in dealing with the rate for the maintenance of the rector, as also with the nomination of surveyors of highways and a number of miscellaneous matters.

In consequence of the rate for the repair and maintenance of either of the parish churches being leviable throughout the two parishes, a vigilant watch was exercised by each Vestry upon the proceedings of the other in this respect. In May, 1734, the Vestry of St. John's felt called upon to remonstrate with their neighbours against a resolution for "the pulling down and rebuilding of the steeple of the Church of St. Margaret," whereby the two parishes were to be involved in an expenditure estimated at £2,200, the remonstrance setting forth that the younger Vestry had received no notice of the intended outlay, and had not been allowed to

make a survey of the proposed works. The Vestry of St. Margaret's thereupon submitted a case for the opinion of Sergeant Hawkins and Sergeant Eyre, and subsequently supplied their aggrieved colleagues with a copy. The opinions of both counsel were in accord as to the powers of the churchwardens and Vestry of St. Margaret's in directing the necessary repairs of their church, not being affected by the creation of the new parish nor in any way dependent upon the concurrence or consent of the Vestry of St. John's; but differed on certain points concerning the raising of the funds by means of a rate. Sergeant Hawkins advised "the summoning of another meeting of both parishes," and Sergeant Eyre was of opinion that the rate could be made by the Vestry of St. Margaret "in default of a meeting." The Vestry of St. John replied by 'a declaration' adhering to their remonstrance, after which the incident is not mentioned in the records.

Eight years later, when the Vestry of St. John's were perplexed concerning the raising of money to restore the church after the destructive fire (*see p. 34*) they called upon the Vestry of St. Margaret's to convene a meeting of both bodies "on matters of great consequence to both parishes," without more specific particulars. In the absence of definite information as to the object of the proposed meeting, the senior body declined to act, and when it was eventually explained that the intention was to request assistance in raising money for the repair of the church, the Vestry of the mother parish adopted a *via media* by promising their best co-operation without convening the desired meeting.

In 1815 the parochial barometer had again fallen to "stormy." By an ill-advised and peremptory notice the churchwardens of the parish of St. John the Evangelist convened a meeting of the two Vestries to be held in the Vestry-room of St. Margaret's Church on Easter Tuesday of that year, for the purpose *inter alia*, of "ascertaining the

' monies and rates to be assessed within the limits of the "said two parishes for the repair of the said (St. John's) " Church."

The Vestry of St. Margaret's passed a resolution directing that the customary method of summoning the vestries be observed, and that the notice from the St. John's Vestry be ignored. At the Easter Tuesday meeting of the two Vestries, the representatives of St. John's parish failed to gain their end; albeit the Vestry of St. Margaret resolved to state a case for the opinion of counsel "on the application by the officers of St. John to the officers of St. Margaret " to give notice in St. Margaret's Church for making a rate " for the repair of St. John's Church, and on the intimation " by St. John's parish to move the Court of King's Bench " for a *mandamus* to compel this parish, jointly with themselves, to make such rates." By another resolution the Vestry of St. Margaret agreed to retain the solicitor-general on behalf of the parish. On the 11th May, 1815, the vestry clerk of St. Margaret's reported that the Court of King's Bench had granted a rule *nisi* on the application of the Vestry of St. John the Evangelist for a *mandamus*. On the 26th June the defendant Vestry of St. Margaret were informed that the *mandamus* had been issued, a copy of the writ being laid before the Vestry in the following October. The Churchwardens, who were the nominal defendants, "wished to be favoured with the advice and " opinion of the Vestry as to the course of proceeding " proper to be adopted under the present circumstances. " The Vestry deliberated a considerable time upon the " several matters relating thereto, and as the Churchwardens were thereby in possession of their sentiments, it " was not thought necessary to enter into any specific " resolutions thereon."

A difference of opinion between the two bodies occurred in 1735, upon the construction of the terms of an agreement entered into on 6th June, 1733, by which it was stipulated

that all pew rents, burial fees, and other moneys payable to the churchwardens of St. John, should be applied to the payment of the £125 to the Rector in lieu of rate, to the cost of repairs to the church, and the payments of servants' wages, tradesmen's bills and other demands, "and if there be any overplus that to be paid to the Church Wardens of St. Margaret, Westminster, in order to increase the Publick Stock of both Parishes in the hands of the Church Wardens of St. Margaret's. But in case of any Deficiency, that to be made good by the Church Wardens of St. Margaret's in regard the Church Wardens of St. Margaret's have all the Publick Money in their Hands to which Money the Parish of St. John's is entitled to a proportionate part, and out of that Money all Public Parochial Expenses are paid."

"This may probably make a demand of 15li. or 20li. P. Ann. upon St. Margaret's for St. John's and 'tis thought not more."

At the audit of the churchwarden's accounts for 1733-4, it was found that there was a balance of £116 3s. due to the accountants. The Vestry of St. John, in pursuance of the agreement, made an order upon the Vestry of St. Margaret's for payment of the deficiency. On an explanation being asked for, the Vestry of St. John's supported their order by the following 'reasons':—

First.—Because the Churchwardens of St. Margaret's parish are possessed of a very considerable Estate which is the property of both Pshes and of which the parish of St. John's is undoubtedly intituled to a proportionable part.

Second.—Because since the Consecration of the Church of St. John the Evangel^t a large sum of money (which would have been otherwise paid to discharge the debt of the Workhouse) has been applyd to the renewing the leases of the Estate belonging to y^e two Parishes and it would be extremely unjust that the Leases should be renewed with the money collected indifferently thro both parishes and that the Inhabitants of St. John's should have no Share of the proffits arising therefrom in Ease of that Burden which must otherwise necessarily lye upon them,

Third.—Because tho the Vestry of St. John's parish, do acknowledge that (by Act of Parliament) a Pound-rate ought to be raised for the Maintenance of the Minister (unless any sum of money shall be appropriated for that purpose) . . . yet they do apprehend that if they should be put under a necessity of raising the said Pound rate for want of Assistance from the Parish of St. Margaret it would cause very great uneasyness in the Inhabitants of St. John's and that many of them would leave the Parish rather than submit to such a Tax which would be very detrimental to the Parish of St. Margaret as well as to that of St. John, the two Parishes being still united with respect to all other parochial Rates and consequently the Parish of St. Margaret being obligd in proportion to make good the deficiency in the rates which may be occasion'd by the Houses in St. John's Parish standg empty.

Fourth.—Because a considerable part of the Money now demanded has been laid out in the necessary Repairs of St. John's Church which the express words of the Act of Parlmt require to be defrayd by a Rate indifferently made and collected thro both Parishes. . .

Fifth.—Because the Churchwardens of St. John's Parish in those years when they did raise the Pound rate found it so grievous to the Inhabitants that they have since chosen to omitt raising t and to advance the Money themselves rather than create so much uneasyness among the people, hoping that it would appear highly reasonable to the Churchwardens and Vestry of St. Margaret's to make good this deficiency when they should consider it a proper light.

Sixth.—Because great numbers of the Inhabitants of St. John's Parish are buried in the Church and Churchyards of St. Margaret's Parish on account of their Relations having been buried there before, and very few of the Inhabitants of St. Margaret's (if any) are buried in St. John's Churchyard, which is a considerable diminution of the fees which would otherwise arise by burials in St. John's, all which would be applyd to the paying the Charges of St. John's parish, and is at the same time a considerable advantage to St. Margaret's Parish.

Seventh and last.—Because by the resolution of the Vestry of St. Margarets taken the sixth day of June, 1733. . . Wee do apprehend that the said Vestry have already come into the proposal made to them And do hope that tho the deficiency should amount to more than Twenty pounds a year, the Churchwardens and Vestry of St. Margaret's will not for the Reasons aforegiven scruple the payment of the same."

A case for the opinion of counsel was agreed to between the two Vestries, and was laid before the Attorney General on 15th April, 1736; but the opinion is not entered in any of the records. The payment of the money was reported, however, in May, 1739.

In 1816, when the church of St. John had fallen into disrepair, the two Vestries appointed a Committee to carry out the necessary works at an estimated cost of £2,000, and a rate of eightpence in the £ was levied upon the two parishes to raise the required amount.

A little later on the parochial barometer registered "set fair," as shown by an entry on the minutes at the time of Dr. Blair's unsuccessful attempt to lay claim to the receipts from the letting of the vaults under the church, and to the construction of brick graves in the burial ground:—

31st May, 1781.—Resolved that the thanks of this Vestry be and are hereby given to the Vestry of St. Margaret for their ready Assistance in supporting the Rights of this parish against the claims set up by the Rector, and that a Copy of this Resolution be transmitted by the Vestry Clerk of this Parish to the Vestry Clerk of St. Margaret's to be laid before that Vestry at their next Meeting.

Proceeding onwards, and still keeping the eye on the parochial barometer, we welcome the indication of "Fine" in the minutes of 28th February, 1803, as we read:—

"This Vestry, highly sensible of the attentions of the Church Wardens and Vestry of the parish of St. Margaret, not only for their present of the large brass chandelier, but for their handsome manner of presenting the same, which this Vestry hopes will prove an elegant and Constant Memorial of that union which will always subsist between two parishes so closely united both in interest and situation."

thus exemplifying Wordsworth's couplet—

The two that were at strife are blended
And all old troubles now are ended.

Turning to some of the other multifarious matters which engaged the attention of the Vestry, we find them one day (1st March, 1750), deploring the pernicious use of spirituous liquors, and petitioning the Magistrates to withhold their

sanction to the renewal of licenses to eight notoriously troublesome public-houses. On another occasion (9th June, 1774) the Vestry record their indignation and alarm at the frequency of robberies from the person and burglaries in the parish, and offer rewards of £10 upon every conviction. At another meeting they discuss the inadequacy of the provisions for the protection of life and property from fire ; then street obstructions, and the shouting on Sundays by itinerant dealers are seriously debated with a view to suppression ; and at frequent intervals extending over nearly a hundred years (1736 to 1835) the grievous complaints of inhabitants led the Vestry to apply themselves seriously to devising more effectual means of improving the paving, lighting and watching of the streets, and the abatement of nuisances within the parish. Not that 'our parish' was behind others, or even the City of London itself, of which *The Doctor* (1834) attributed to Southey, affords us a passing glance :—

"The present race of Londoners little know what the appearance of the city was a century ago ; their own city, we were about to have said, but it was the city of their great-grandfathers in 1716. At that time the kennels (as in Paris) were in the street, and there were no foot-paths ; spouts projected the rain-water in streams, against which umbrellas, if umbrellas had been then in use, could have afforded no defence ; and large signs, such as are to be seen at country inns, were suspended from every shop from posts which impeded the way, or from iron supports strongly fixed into the front of the house. The swinging of one of these broad signs in a high wind, and the weight of the iron on which it acted, sometimes brought the wall down ; and it is recorded that one, from a fall of this kind, in Fleet-street, maimed several persons, and killed two young ladies, a cobbler, and the king's jeweller."

An unfavourable impression made by the state of the streets on the mind of Swift, was reflected in his *Description of a City Shower* :—

"Now from all parts the swelling kennels flow,
And bear their trophies with them as they go ;
Filth of all hues and odour seem to tell
What street they sailed from by their sight and smell.

Sweepings from butchers' stalls, dung, yes, and blood,
Drown'd puppies, stinking sprats, all drenched in mud,
Dead cats and turnip tops come tumbling down the flood,"

Churchill makes reference to the kennels as

“Those fragrant currents which we meet,
Distilling soft through every street.”

On the 27th January, 1741, Lord Tyrconnell complained in the House of Lords that it was impossible to go down to the House or to return from it without observing the state of the streets of Westminster—“observations forced on every man however inattentive or however engrossed with reflections of a different kind. The filth in some parts of the town, and the inequalities and ruggedness of others, cannot but in the eyes of foreigners disgrace our nation and incline them to imagine us a people not only without delicacy, but without Government—a herd of barbarians or a colony of Hottentots.”

For more than twenty years after the formation of the parish, many of the nuisances and annoyances which increased with the rapid growth of the population, were only remediable by common law indictment. The Vestry therefore suggested to the governing bodies of several of the adjacent parishes the desirability of uniting in a petition to Parliament for the introduction of a Bill to confer extended powers on the local authorities. Unexpected objections were taken, however, and insuperable obstacles prevailed until 1752, when an Act (25 Geo. II., cap. 23) was passed which simplified the method of raising money by a rate for all local purposes, and amended the provisions affecting the maintenance of the highways in the two parishes. In 1771 another enactment (11 Geo. III., cap. 22) dealing with kindred matters, was added to the Statute Book ; but the additional powers thus conferred were soon found insufficient for the exigencies of the constantly increasing number of inhabitants. The aid of Parliament was therefore again petitioned, and another Act (22 Geo. III., cap. 44) was passed in 1782 with the object of effecting further improvement. Some of the recitals in the preamble to this Act do not testify to the efficacy of the former Act

during its thirty years operation, for we read that "the houses and other buildings in the several streets . . . are so far from being advanced in value, that ever since the passing of the said Act the same have been going to decay, and are now in a great many places too ruinous to be inhabited. And the pavement in such streets . . . is, in general, in so ruinous a state as to be extremely dangerous. . . and the said streets . . . are very insufficiently lighted in general, and in many parts not at all, and are excessively annoyed by night-soil and other offensive things being laid or cast therein." These evils appear to have been due to the fact that many of the poorer streets were specially exempted from the operation of the former Act on account of the inability of the inhabitants of such streets to pay the rate authorised to be levied ; but while this third Act augured improvement by the removal of those exemptions, it was the precursor of the inexplicable chaos from which the local government of the parish was not extricated for many years. Notwithstanding the existence of a Vestry of forty-two members in St. John's parish, and of a similar, though more numerous, body in St. Margaret's, this Act called into existence a third body—a Commission—who were to have independent jurisdiction over certain thoroughfares regardless of the well-defined boundaries of the parishes. Although there were by this time four local authorities exercising control in a small area, a fifth was added by the passing in 1809 of the Act for the construction of Vauxhall bridge, whereby the maintenance and lighting of the Vauxhall bridge-road and some of the contiguous streets were imposed upon the promoters ; and a sixth was created by the Act of 6 Geo. IV., cap. 134 (1826) which constituted the Tothill Fields Trust. Passing over the General Paving (Metropolis) Act, of 1817 (57 George III., cap. 29), as applying to this parish only in common with the whole metropolis, we find an attempt made in 1825 to rectify some of the local incongruities by the passing of the Act 5 William IV., cap. 18, under which a separate paving com-

mission for each of the two parishes was brought into existence. Thus the number of bodies concerned in the local administration was increased to eight, not to speak of the Crown Estate Paving Commission, who were responsible for part of the parish on the east side, and the Governors and Directors of the Poor, who had not been relieved of their obligations in some of the central streets of the parish. The confusion these numerous Acts were designed to dispel was, in fact, intensified to such a degree that, by way of example, Horseferry-road became almost neglected during the frequent disputes between three of the authorities as to their respective liability for its repair ; Rochester-row, from the same cause, gave rise to repeated threats of indictment by the inhabitants on account of the danger to which the traffic was exposed by the want of repair ; and when it was proposed to release the proprietors of Vauxhall bridge from their liability to maintain and light the roads and streets leading to the bridge, it was found that there were four local authorities concerned.

With the exception of those acting for the Crown Estate, the Commissions were elected by the Vestries of the respective parishes, who were themselves self-elected. To this system, the parishioners attributed many of the inconveniences from which they suffered. A movement was therefore set on foot at a meeting of inhabitants held at "the Infant School-room in Vincent-square," in February, 1832, for the adoption of the Act 1 and 2 Will. IV., cap. 60, commonly known as Hobhouse's Act, by which the power of electing their representatives was conferred upon the rate-payers. There were 1,469 householders in the parish at the time, of which 637 were qualified to vote when the sense of the parish was taken. Of these 443 declared themselves in favour of the change, eight were against it, and 186 did not fill up the voting papers left at their houses for the purpose. The Act was thereupon adopted ;

"But when men think they most in safety stand,
Their greatest peril often is at hand."

A few years brought an unlooked for and inextricable complication, arising from the non-adoption of the new Act in St. Margaret's parish. Certain ratepayers in St. John's parish objected to pay their paving rate on the ground that under the peculiar constitution of the two parishes by the Act of 1752, neither of them, acting separately, could adopt Hobhouse's Act; that the Vestry of St. John's, being illegally constituted, could not legally become or appoint Paving Commissioners, and that the Paving Rate, being illegally made, could not be enforced. A case for the opinion of counsel was stated, and placed before Sir Fitzroy Kelly, Mr. Tomlinson, and Mr. W. H. Bodkin, who all advised that the objection was valid, and that the election of vestrymen by the popular vote must be adopted in the two parishes or not at all. The arrears of rates, extending over several years, were thereupon written off, and the "select" vestry system reverted to; but not until seven members, who had been elected under Hobhouse's Act and persisted in attending the meeting of the United Vestries on 23rd May, 1848, were compelled to withdraw as having no legal right to be present. By this time, however, the days of the "select" system in London had become numbered. By the appalling visitation of cholera in 1848, public attention became drawn irresistibly to the absence of any efficient system of sanitation in the metropolis generally; but no effective legislation took place until 1855, when the second epidemic of cholera in 1854 gave a powerful impetus to the contemplated reform.

So incomplete was the application of the many statutes relating to the paving, lighting, and general sanitation of the parish at this time, that there were more than three miles of streets and places without sewers, and, as a consequence, there was no other drainage for the houses fronting those streets than the primitive and (in a crowded parish) intolerable cesspool, which was found to be defective in upwards of 700 cases; there were 400 open privies, 900 w.c.'s

without water supply, upwards of 300 houses without receptacles for their refuse, and rather more than 200 instances in which the water supply was obtained through water-butts unfit for use, owing to their unwholesome condition. There were also 76,000 square yards of roadway, and 12,700 square yards of footway without any description of paving. In the evidence taken by a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1852 upon the subject of the water supply in the metropolis, it was stated that Westminster still derived its water "from the impure source abandoned by the other companies," while the water-cart was only used in those few streets in which the inhabitants subscribed, by a voluntary rate, to defray the expense. With the nuisances of which our forefathers had to complain we are totally unacquainted. In 1844 there were three 'bone-factories,' a lucifer match manufactory, "the keeping of an immense quantity of geese," and "the boiling of materials used in the jappanning of leather," among the causes of dissatisfaction, while earlier, the establishment of the gas works in Great Peter-street gave rise to repeated representations by the inhabitants, and the strong arm of the law was more than once moved to suppress annoyances at a large piece of ground called the Swiss Ground (between New Tothill-street and the New Way, the site of the present Victoria Mansions), occupied by persons who kept large numbers of pigs in styes, where "great quantities of dust, filth and ashes in prodigious heaps above the height of the walls of the surrounding gardens suffocated the inhabitants with the stench."

On the 17th March, 1855, Sir Benjamin Hall, as president of the Board of Health, introduced his "Bill for the Better Local Management of the Metropolis," amidst a vigorous and impatient opposition, which, however, he skilfully overcame. In the course of the debate upon the Bill, the unsatisfactory state of affairs in Westminster was adduced as evidence of the need of reform. Having passed into law in

August of the same year, the effect of the Act upon Westminster was to abolish the two 'select' vestries and all the other authorities elected by or associated with them. These were replaced by a vestry in each parish, elected by the ratepayers, and by a District Board of Works appointed by the joint Vestries. The duties of the Library Commissioners, the Baths and Wash-houses Commissioners, and the Burial Board, and of the United Vestries as the rating authority under the Act of 1752, were not affected by the new law, except that the United Vestries became the authority for levying and collecting the sums to be expended by the District Board of Works, the Burial Board, the Commissioners for Libraries and those for Baths and Wash-houses. The Vestry of St. John's parish, remodelled upon the elective principle, and the District Board of Works, upon which the representatives of St. John's parish were appointed by the parish Vestry, commenced their duties under the new Act on 1st January, 1856, and continued until 25th March, 1888, when the District Board of Works was dissolved, and its duties, properties, and liabilities transferred to the 'United Vestry' of the two parishes, by virtue of an Act passed in 50 and 51 Vict., cap. 17 (1887) under circumstances fully detailed in the Thirty-First Report of the District Board of Works, pp. 29—35. Thus the self-government of the two parishes is restored, but with the advantage of direct election by, and responsibility to the ratepayers, to the position it occupied prior to 1752, when the affairs of the area now comprised within the boundaries of the two parishes were administered by one local governing body. The principal duty reserved to the Vestry of St. John's, acting independently, is that of appointing churchwardens; but, acting conjointly with their neighbours of St. Margaret, as a 'United Vestry,' they have an equal voice and power in all that pertains to the temporal welfare of the two parishes.

Of the three auxiliary bodies, whose functions were in no

way affected by the Act of 1888, the oldest is the Baths and Wash-houses Commission. Their powers are derived from two Acts of Parliament passed in 1846 and 1847 (9 and 10 Vict., cap. 74, and 10 and 11 Vict., cap. 61) which are to be considered as one Act. The Act, entrusts Vestries with the appointment of Commissioners, and with a discretionary power as to the extent to which the poor rate shall be charged with the expenditure. A further reference is made to the establishment under the management of the Commission in chapter XV.

The Commissioners of Free Public Libraries are constituted under the Act 13 and 14 Vict., cap. 65 (1850), and the numerous Acts amending or extending it, which have been incorporated in the Public Libraries (Consolidation) Act of last Session (55 and 56 Vict., cap 53). In so far as the expenditure affects the poor rate, the Vestry, who appoint the Commissioners, have a controlling power ; in other respects, like their brethren of the Baths and Wash-houses, they are entrusted with independent powers. A notice of the Library conducted by the Commission is reserved for chapter XV.

The third of the smaller corporate bodies is the Burial Board, which was called into existence on the 29th November, 1852, when the Vestry adopted the Act which empowered them to appoint such a Board for the purpose of providing a new burial place, and of maintaining the disused churchyards of St. Margaret's and Christ Church, and the burial ground of St. John's. The first Burial Board appointed after the adoption of the Act consisted of Canon Jennings, Sir William Page Wood, M.P. (afterwards Lord Hatherley) Taverner John Miller, Esq., J.P., M.P., Hartwell John Maude, Esq., Mr. Joseph Carter Wood, Mr. George Wilson, and Mr. James Bigg.

After a proposal to purchase 21 acres of land at Garrett Farm, Tooting, had been rejected, the provision of additional space for interments was effected by agreements

between the Board and the London Necropolis Company, dated respectively 21st April, 1855, 14th April, 1858, 10th November, 1858, and 30th December, 1863. By the first of these deeds six acres of land in the consecrated part, and two acres in the unconsecrated part of the cemetery at Woking were set apart for burials from the two parishes; and by the subsequent indentures exchanges were effected, but very few interments have taken place in any part of the ground reserved to Westminster. This has been attributed partly to the fact that such provision has not been publicly made known among the parishioners, partly to the preference given to Brompton Cemetery as being more accessible, and partly to the fact that the duties in relation to 'parish' burials were transferred from the Governors and Directors of the poor of St. Margaret and St. John, to the Board of Guardians of St. George's Union by an Order of the Poor Law Board in August, 1867. From that time the Burial Board have had no further duty than the maintenance of the churchyards of St. Margaret's and Christ Church, the management of the burial ground of St. John's having been transferred to the United Vestry under the Open Spaces Act of 1881 (*see page 128*), and the Metropolis Local Management (Battersea and Westminster) Act of 1887.

Another important branch of the Vestry's business remains to be called to mind—the protection of the lives and properties of the inhabitants by means of "the Watch." No department of the local administration was such a constant source of trouble and anxiety, from the commencement of the Vestry's operations in 1728 until 1830—just over a hundred years—when the superannuated paupers vanished at the approach of the strong and sturdy "force" inaugurated by Sir Robert Peel. It is impossible to conceive any institution more unfitted for the demands of society, more corrupt, or more inefficient. Infirm and decrepid, unable to work, and oftentimes in the receipt of relief from 'the parish,' the old men were given 'a beat' and twelve shillings a week,

without much regard to their physical capabilities. Supplied each with a rattle, a staff, and a treble-caped great coat, a lanthorn,—and with it the lives and properties of the parishioners,—was placed in their hands. With little wooden boxes against the wall, to shelter them from rain or storm (but in which they often snored away the greater part of the night) they would totter round their beats, carrying their dark lanterns, (the horn black with the smoke of many candles) and ‘shouting’ as loudly as their feeble voices and husky throats would permit, the hour of the night and the state of the weather. The monotony of these muttering and almost inaudible announcements was sometimes varied by an alarming cry of “Watch!” “Watch!!” repeated until the whole neighbourhood was disturbed and the somnambulistic “Charley” appeared on the scene in response, when he would be coolly told to return to his box and “sleep it out.”

Occasionally a cry of “Help!” and the springing of a rattle would arouse the sleeping citizen; but his good citizenship, taught by experience, generally applied itself to trying the bolts, double-locking the street door, securing the windows, and returning to his couch, hoping the guardian of the night had mistaken a practical joker for a desperate offender. So far from deterring these two mischievous classes, the inefficiency of ‘the watch’ encouraged them, although the existence of 997 licensed houses in the City and Liberties of Westminster (one-fifth of the entire number in the metropolis) in 1796, would seem to have called for special vigilance and activity.

It is not intended for a moment, however, to imply that the inefficiency of ‘the watch’ was peculiar to ‘our parish.’ A ‘*Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis*,’ by Patrick Colquhoun, LL.D., a magistrate at the Queen Square Police Office (Lond. 1796) declared that “watchmen and patrols, owing to their being comparatively of little use from their age, infirmity, inability, inattention or corrupt practices,

form a system without energy, disjointed, and governed by almost as many different Acts of Parliament as there are parishes, hamlets, liberties and precincts within the Bills of Mortality. . . . Not a small proportion of the very men who are paid for protecting the public, are not only instruments of oppression in many instances, by extorting money most unwarrantably ; but are also not seldom accessories in aiding, abetting or concealing the commission of crimes." Nor is it intended to imply that the shortcomings of the system had become notorious for the first time at the commencement of the present century. Dogberry's charges to the Watch in Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing* (Act III., Sc. 3) have only to be mentioned as a pleasant reminder to the contrary.

In 1734 and the two following years the necessity for improving the service was repeatedly discussed by 'our Vestry,' and in 1736 they combined with the Vestry of St. Margaret's to give effect to one of the many Acts passed with the object of placing the system on an efficient footing. Rounds were assigned, the 'stands' were re-arranged, the men were ordered to carry a lanthorn and candle, to be armed with an "ashen staff," to declare "with a distinct and loud voice the time of the night and morning," and to wear "a portcullis brass badge on their upper coat or garment." Among the accounts paid by the Vestry on 3rd August, 1738, was one :—

To Mr. John Smith, one of the Churchwardens of St. Margaret's, 1736, disbursed by him on account of the death of Charles Dubois, a watchman, who was murdered by one man £7 15 2

On 13th February, 1772, an additional code of regulations was drawn up with special reference to the use of rattles and to ensure "the certainty of the watch always taking the said rattles with them." In 1813, when there were less than 30 men employed, the watch-rate was 9d. in the £.*

* At the present time the payment on account of the Police is equivalent to 5d. in the £, and the numerical strength of the force engaged in St. John's is about 135.

As illustrating the minor troubles of the Vestry and its committees in keeping the movements of the Watch in order, a very few extracts are sufficient:—

28th July, 1826. Jeromes, Charles. Asleep at half-past two o'clock, and calling on another watchman's beat and locking up a drunken man and a dog in his watch-box. Found by the Sergeant.

3rd Sept., 1826. Jeromes, Charles. Found by the Sergeant 10 minutes past one o'clock in another watchman's beat, with his lantern on his back quite incapable of doing his duty; sent home. Discharged 13th Sept., 1826.

8th Nov., 1826. Cooksey, Daniel, Patrole. For being in liquor, and neglect of duty, and likewise for going to the watchman, wishing them to state a falsehood that he had done his duty and that he was not in liquor. Reported by the Sergeant. Discharged 5th Feb., 1827.

13th June, 1827. Perry, Thomas. For missing duty two nights without leave, the 2nd and 3rd June. Reported by the Sergeant. Fine One Shilling.

27th October, 1827. Barton, Richard. For being in liquor at half-past one o'clock, and calling the wrong hour and behaving contemptuously to the Sergeant and Patrole, and likewise abusing the Patrol in a shameful manner and taking off his Watch Coat and throwing it in the flags amongst the mud in a contemptuous manner. Reported by the Sergeant.

Discharged.

10th June, 1829. Thompson, John. For neglect of duty for not reporting the moving of Goods in Douglas-street in proper time. Report by the Sergeant. Fined One Shilling.

Here we take leave of a system which, the subject of ridicule in Shakspeare's time, had become utterly worthless and contemptible as a means of preventing crime in the first quarter of the present century.

As 'the watch' withdrew from the streets of St. John's, the candle lanterns and the oil lamps, which had been their nightly companions, disappeared also, to make way for an improvement in public lighting as great as that which attended the introduction of the police for the public protection.

"The gas up-blazes with its bright, white light
And paralytic watchmen prowl, howl, growl.
Now thieves to enter for your cash, smash, crash;
Past drowsy Charley, in a deep sleep, creep,
But frightened by Policeman B 3, flee."

Hoop.

Next to 'the watch,' the service which occasioned constant complaint, in the local board-room and out of it, was the lighting of the public streets, although in the latter, as in the former, the local authorities could only administer the law as they found it, and petition Parliament to remedy the defects discovered by experience. When the Vestry came into existence, the Act of 14 Charles II., cap. 2 (1674) as amended by 2 William and Mary, cap. 8, was still in force. These Acts imposed upon householders the obligation of hanging out candles until nine (the time was extended by the second Act to twelve) o'clock at night, under a penalty of two shillings for each default.

Charles Knight, in his *Midsummer-eve* refers to this duty :—

A light here, maids, hang out your light,
And see your horns be clear and bright,
That so your candle clear may shine,
Continuing from six to nine ;
That honest men that walk along
May see to pass safe without wrong.

The number of defaulters under the above Acts was so great, however, that the Magistrates passed an order that the parties summoned should be brought before them "from one street at a time so as to avoid crowd and confusion"; then, as the public bodies began to exhibit lights at some of the street corners, the Magistrates advised the residents to subscribe towards the cost of such provision, and promised exemption of penalties if they acted on the advice.

In 1786 the Vestry called the attention of Parliament to the necessity for some more effectual system, alleging in their petition "that many of the street robberies, burglaries, murders, and other crimes, are greatly owing to the insufficient lighting of the streets"; but notwithstanding that Whitehall and the other approaches to the Houses of Parliament were entirely without street lights except in the winter months, when they were lighted by the Government, the powers asked for were not granted until 1762.* Mean-

* The Act of 1752 contained no provision as to lighting.

while such lights as were seen out of doors were carried by the watchman and the link-boy, the one incapable, the other dishonest—if we may accept Gay's description of the fraternity:—

Though thou art tempted by the linkman's call,
Yet trust him not along the lonely wall ;
In the midway he'll quench the flaming brand,
And share the booty with the pilfering band.
Still keep the public streets where oily rays,
Shot from the crystal lamps, o'erspread thy ways.

The dangers attending a walk in the streets after sunset were noticed by many of the writers of the time. Thus we find Johnson, in his *London*, offering a word of warning, in which, however, he suggests that some advantage was obtained by engaging "the officious linkboy's smoky light":—

Prepare for death if here at night you roam,
And sign your will before you sup from home.
Some fiery fop, with new commission vain,
Who sleeps on brambles till he kills his man,—
Some frolic drunkard, reeling from a feast,
Provokes a broil, and stabs you for a jest.
Yet even these heroes, mischievously gay,
Lords of the street and terrors of the way,
Flush'd as they are with folly, youth, and wine,
Their prudent insult to the poor confine ;
Afar they mark the flambeau's bright approach,
And shun the shining train and golden coach.

Besides the frolicsome drunkard, there were others who formed themselves into clubs or societies for the express purpose of lawlessness during the dark evenings, before the streets were deserted or the householders retired to rest. Among these were the "Mohocks" and the "Nickers" who collectively visited the parishes within easy reach of the City, the former to insult or assault pedestrians of all classes, whether lighted by the link-boy's flambeau or not; the latter to spread terror within doors by breaking all the windows which could be reached by throwing the heavy copper coins of the day. Dangers of this kind, which as much beset the

person and property of the Cabinet Minister as the cottager, were noticed by Gay :—

Now is the time that rakes their revels keep,
 Kindlers of riot, enemies of sleep;
 His scattered pence the flying Nicker flings,
 And with the copper shower the casement rings.
 Who has not heard the Scowerer's mid-night fame?
 Who has not trembled at the Mohocks name?
 Was there a watchman took his hourly rounds
 Safe from their blows or new invented wounds?

The authority to light certain of the public streets in Westminster, given by the Act of 1762, was extended to other streets by an Act passed in 1782, and by 1793 there were 220 "globular-glass lamps with oil and cotton and two burners each." By this time the lamplighter was fairly established in his glory. He might be seen every morning hurrying through the ill-paved streets, and his ladder might be felt, driven against the breast, as he hastily turned the street corner, or his oil might be smelt on the pedestrian's clothes after it had fallen from a defective lamp as he passed beneath it. Yet the day was proud of its lamps, which Bechmann, in his *History of Inventions*, described as "something like a wonder of the world." Nevertheless, great as was this stride in the march of improvement, the system by no means met the requirements, for many of the poorer streets, which were not paved because of the inability of the residents to pay the rate, were not lighted for the same reason, and many of the streets in which lamps were placed were frequently left in darkness either after midnight or throughout the night, or for several nights in succession, owing to the perfunctory execution of the work by the contractors.

By the provisions of the Act of 1762 the Magistrates were armed with very stringent powers for the punishment of negligent lamplighters, the exercise of which did not escape the observant eye of Churchill :—

Or like those lamps which by the power
 Of law, must burn from hour to hour,
 (Else they, without redemption, fall
 Under the terrors of the Hall,

Which, once notorious for a hop,
Is now become a justice shop*)
Which are so managed to go out
Just when the time comes round about ;
Which yet, through emulation, strive
To keep their dying light alive,
And (not uncommon as we find
Amongst the children of mankind)
As they grow weaker would seem stronger,
And burn a little, little longer."

Stringent specifications and contracts were drawn up, fines were imposed, contracts were annulled ; yet all failed to allay the almost incessant expressions of dissatisfaction. But while the law was displaying its weakness, science was quietly developing a remedy, of which Dr. Johnson is said to have had a prevision.†

The Very Rev. Dr. Clayton, Dean of Kildare, having experimentally ascertained that a permanently elastic and inflammable æriform fluid is evolved from pit-coal, described the same in a letter to the Hon. Robert Boyle in 1691; and the *Miscellanea Curiosa*, 1705-7, Vol. III., p. 281, shows that the Doctor also discovered that gas retains its inflammability after passing through water. Hughes, in his *Treatise on Gas Works*, 1853, credits Dr. Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, with having given "the first notice of the important fact." In 1792 William Murdoch demonstrated the possibility of lighting by gas in Birmingham, Manchester, and Redruth, in Cornwall. In 1798 he applied his system to the factory of Messrs. Bolton and Watt, in Birmingham, and in 1805 to the cotton mills of Messrs. Phillips

* The Westminster Petty Sessions were then held at a building in King-street, which had formerly been a dancing room and low place of public entertainment.

† Sitting at the window of his house in Bolt Court one evening, Dr. Johnson observed the parish lamplighter ascend a ladder to light one of the glimmering oil lamps. The man had scarcely descended half way when the flame went out. Quickly returning, he lifted the cover partially, and thrusting the end of his torch beneath it, the flame was instantly communicated to the wick by the thick vapour which issued from it. "Ah!" exclaimed the Doctor, "one of these days the streets of London will be lighted by smoke!" Timb's *Curiosities of London*.

and Lee, at Salford. In 1803-4, Frederick Albert Winsor, a German, after many experiments, lighted the old Lyceum Theatre by the same means. He thereupon promoted a new Light and Heat Company, with a capital of £50,000, to enable him to continue his experiments, and to extend the new method of lighting. In 1807 the new light was brought into use on one side of Pall Mall, on the wall between Pall Mall and St. James's Park, for illuminations on the King's birthday, and at the Golden-lane Brewery. Having applied for Parliamentary powers in 1809, the Chartered Gas Company of London was incorporated under the authority of Parliament in 1810. Their first establishment was in Cannon-row, whence it was soon removed to the site of a market garden and tea-gardens between Great Peter-street and Horseferry-road. In 1813 the new light was used in St. John's Church; in 1814 in St. Margaret's Church, on Westminster-bridge, and in several of the principal thoroughfares. Thus a system which is said to have been "commonly employed by the Chinese for ages," and which evoked the unspairing opposition of Mr. Brougham, F.R.S., Sir Humphry Davy, President of the Royal Society, and a Deputation of Fellows of the same learned Society, who speculated "upon the most frightful consequences from the leakage and explosion of the gasometer," took root in 'our parish,' and thence spread with more or less rapidity, throughout Europe, and America, and most of the principal towns in Australia and New Zealand.

In the commencement of their business in Great Peter street, the Company received every reasonable encouragement from the local authorities with respect to the laying of mains, though the neglect to reinstate the roadways, and the offensive smells given off in some parts of the manufacturing process, were the subject of frequent complaint. The efforts to enforce the abatement of the nuisances produced very little effect for many years. Not only was an

enormous quantity of foul smelling water discharged from the works along the open channels in the streets, but offensive vapours were allowed to escape in such volumes as to annoy the residents far beyond the limits of the parish. On Sunday, 10th July, 1849, the nuisance was so intolerable and extensive that many of the congregation assembled in St. John's and St. Margaret's Churches had to leave before the conclusion of the services. An investigation was shortly afterwards made by chemists, engineers, and other specialists, upon whose advice the company adopted such alterations in their process and apparatus as brought about great improvement.

The company's pipes were laid in Church-street, Millbank-street, Palace-yard, Great Smith-street, Great Peter-street, Dean-street, Strutton-ground, the Broadway, and Artillery-place, in 1814. In 1817 permission was given to lay pipes in "the principal streets of the parish," which were specified as Marsham-street, Tufton-street, Great College-street, Bowling-street, Little Smith-street, Millbank-row and Romney-street. The work was not completed until 1819, when several of the smaller streets were also lighted for the first time with gas. The price of gas in 1817 was 15s. per 1,000 cubic feet, the annual cost of gas consumed in the street lamps was £3 3s, per lamp, and that of oil lamps £1 6s. per annum. The use of oil lamps was not finally discontinued until 1835-6, by which time the gas service had become general throughout the whole of the parish.

The proceedings of the local governing bodies in relation to the relief of the poor, drainage, street obstructions, and road-making present no features worthy of special mention in such memorials as the present ; but in passing over them we may refer to a proposal to adopt in Church-street an experimental piece of wood paving on a system for which a patent was obtained by a Mr. Stead in 1839. The pavement was to be of "round blocks laid vertically, about seven

or eight inches in diameter, some nine inches, some six inches deep," in resemblance of "the very fine roads of this description in Prussia." The experiment was sanctioned 13th October, 1840; in 1841 an offer was made by the "Metropolitan Wood Pavement Company" to lay a somewhat similar kind of pavement, with iron rods, at twelve shillings per yard super, and in 1841 the inhabitants of Millbank-row and Millbank-street petitioned that wood paving might be laid in the carriage way of those thoroughfares; but from the request not having been granted, it may be inferred that the new method was not regarded with favour. An allusion to the circumstance is justified, however, as showing that the idea of paving roadways with wood blocks laid vertically, as now extensively adopted in nearly all the London parishes, had its origin in St. John's a generation prior to the recent revival of the system.

A brief reference to the fire-extinguishing arrangements, as among the responsibilities devolving upon 'the parish,' must not be omitted from a sketch on self-government. For the purposes of this service the Vestry had not to wait, as in the case of the public lighting, for statutory powers. Acts of Parliament passed in the 6th Annæ, cap. 17 and 31, had empowered local authorities to make all necessary provision. An engine-house was accordingly erected in Regent-place,* at the junction of Regency-street with Horseferry-road, a hand-engine was purchased, ladders and buckets were provided, and the equipment made as complete as possible. In 1754 two new engines were purchased by public subscriptions, and 1,000 copies of a section in the Act of Queen Anne were printed and circulated "to warn servants against setting fire to houses."

The accounts abound in entries of rewards paid to the engine keeper for attendance at fires, though the engine from St. Margaret's, possibly owing to horses being used,

* The structure was demolished and the site cleared in 1866. A water trough now stands on part of the site.

(harness for two horses was purchased in 1725), generally outvied that of 'our parish' in being the first to arrive. Sometimes, however, the prize was taken by one of the Insurance Companies' engines, in which case that of St. John's would take the third place. The rewards were generally 40s., 30s., and 20s. for the first three arrivals respectively, while those for the first ladders were 20s. for a four-storey, 15s. for a three-storey, and 10s. for a two-storey. On 16th December, 1797, an enquiry took place into the delay and inactivity of 'the staff' at a fire in Millbank-street, where the engine was in attendance half-an-hour before water could be obtained, notwithstanding the proximity of the river. It was then discovered that "the pipes were mixed and twisted together and half the suction pipe was missing"—such an occurrence as Hood describes :—

The engines I hear them come rumbling ;
There's the Phoenix ! the Globe ! and the Sun !
What a row there will be, and a grumbling
When the water don't start for a run !
See ! there they come racing and tearing,
All the street with loud voices is filled ;
Oh ! it's only the firemen a-swearing
At a man they've run over and killed !
How sweetly the sparks fly away now,
And twinkle like stars in the sky.
It's a wonder the engines don't play now ;
But I never saw water so shy !
Why, there isn't enough for a snipe,
And the fire it is fiercer, alas !
Oh ! instead of the Company pipe,
They have gone—that they have—to the gas !

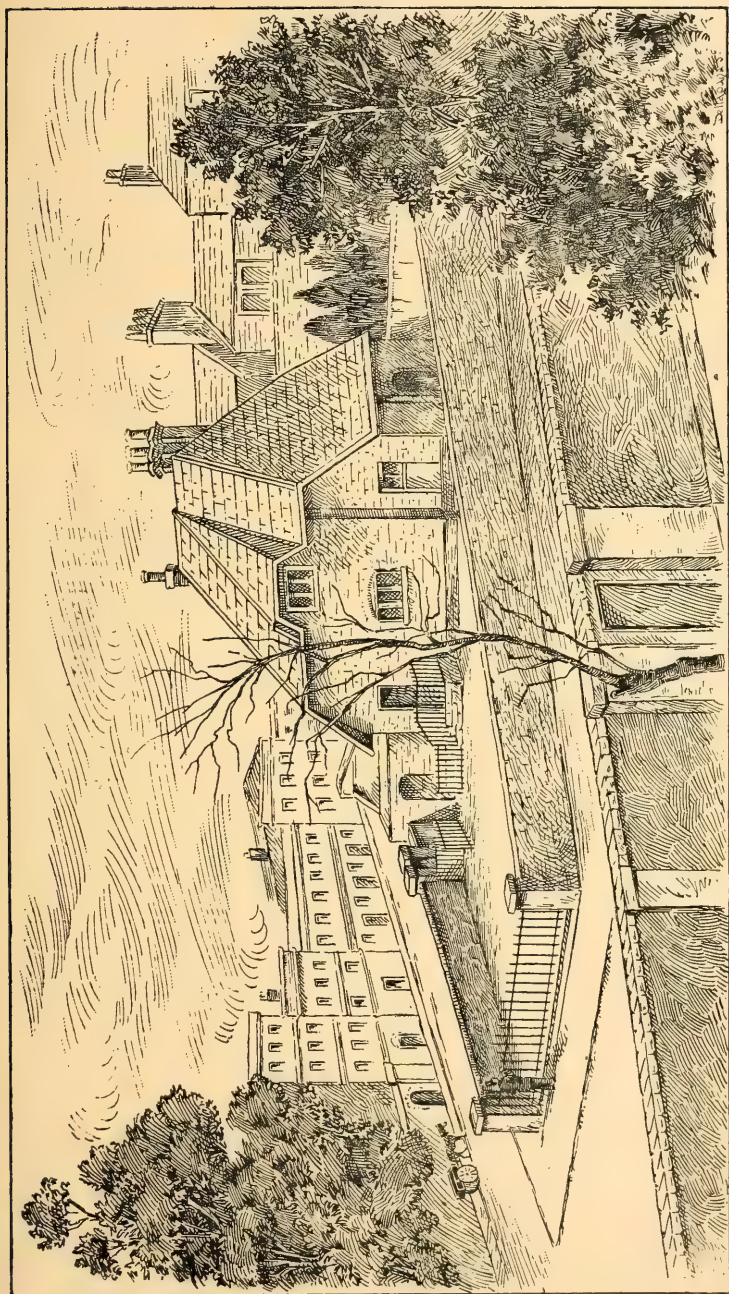
On the 16th January, 1802, the Vestry inquired into the circumstances, in usurpation it would appear, at first sight, of the coroner's functions, of a fire which had occurred at a house at the rear of No. 3, Barton-street, occupied by a printseller named Cartwright, who had obtained £979 from an insurance office as compensation. A certificate of "accidental" was given, and the claim was found to be

correct, "except that the value was calculated on the selling price instead of that at which the goods were purchased."

In common with other similar bodies in the metropolis, the Vestry of St. John's were relieved of their responsibility in the matter of fire extinction in 1866, when the Metropolitan Fire Brigade was appointed. The engines were not accepted by the Metropolitan Board of Works as suitable for the purposes of the new brigade, in consequence of which they were sold, and the proceeds carried to the parish account.

The functions of the Tothill Fields Trust which was constituted in 1826 (*see p. 202*) were limited, as its name implies, to the district known as Tothill fields, except that Rochester-row was specially exempted from the jurisdiction. The boundaries may be described roughly as Francis-street (in the parish of St. Margaret) on the north, the river on the south, Horseferry-road on the east, and Vauxhall bridge-road on the west. Except that the Act by which they were constituted, did not empower them to water the streets, their functions resembled those of the Vestry and the various Commissions, and do not therefore call for further notice. Their office and board room were at a small house, of which a sketch is given on the following page, at the corner of Fynes-street and Carey-street, facing Vincent-square.

In closing this chapter with only a passing allusion to the proceedings of the Court of Burgesses, as one of the local governing bodies, it may be explained that the "Ordinances" made under the Acts of 27 Elizabeth, by which the Court was incorporated, had become ineffective at the date of the formation of the parish. The principal duty remaining in their hands was the enforcement of the law relating to weights and measures, which duty they continued to discharge until the Act of 1888 transferred it to the London County Council. Some notes on the constitution and "Ordinances" of the Court were published in *Local Government in Westminster* in 1889.



Office of the Tothill Fields Trust.

CHAPTER VIII.

ECCLESIASTICAL DIVISIONS OF THE PARISH.

Who builds a church to God and not to fame,
Will never mark the marble with his name.

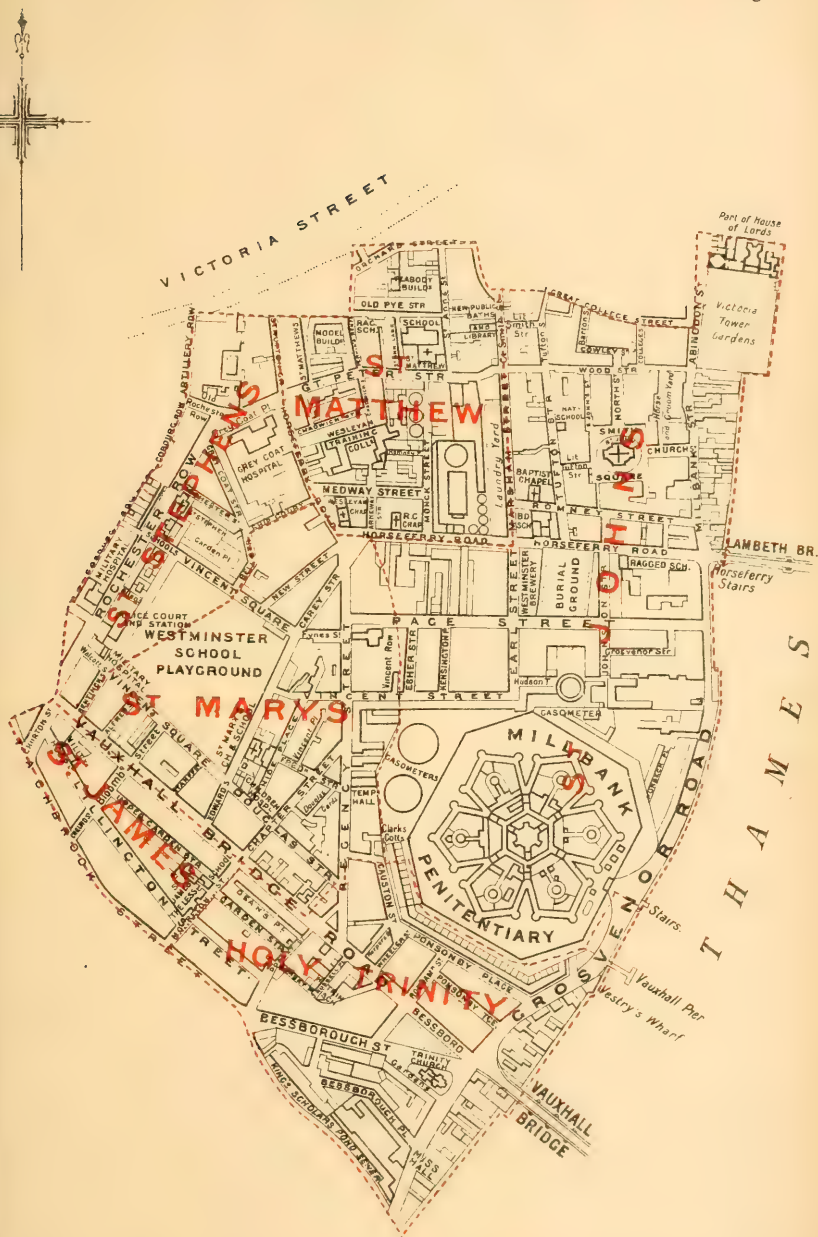
POPE.

As to the sandy desert fountains are,
With palm groves shaded at wide intervals;
Such to this British Isle her Christian fanes,
Each linked to each for kindred services.

WORDSWORTH.

Statistics of the Districts.—St. Mary the Virgin.—Parsonage house.—Two singular entries in the marriage register.—St. Stephen, Rochester Row.—Description of the Church.—The consecration ceremony.—The bells.—St. Matthew, Great Peter-street.—Condition of district thirty years ago.—Laying the foundation stone.—Architecture and ornaments.—Agencies for the benefit of the poor.—Holy Trinity, Bessborough-gardens.—Inscription on Foundation-stone.—Architectural features.—Vicars.—St. James-the-Less, Upper Garden-street.—Architectural description of the church.—Vicars.—St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church.—The "Irvingites" Church.—The Wesleyan Chapel.

AFTER inspecting the Church and the burial ground, our ramble round the parish was interrupted to enable us to look through the album of the rectors, the curates and lecturers, and the parish officers, and to make a retrospect of the self-government of the parish. We now resume our walk for a survey of the five ecclesiastical districts formed within the boundaries during the first thirty years of Archdeacon Jennings' rectorship, and more particularly to notice the churches from which those districts or parishes derive their respective names. The plan given on the opposite page has been specially drawn to show the boundaries of the several parishes in a more convenient manner



Plan of the Parish of Saint John the Evangelist, showing the
ECCLESIASTICAL DIVISIONS.

(Reproduced from Stanford's six-inch map of London.)

than could be done by a verbal description. The report of the Census Commissioners for 1881* (published in 1884) gives the following statistics of the parishes, including that reserved to the mother church :—

<i>Parish.</i>	<i>Date of Formation.</i>	<i>Inhabited Houses.</i>	<i>Population.</i>
St. John-the-Evangelist	1727 ...	950 ...	10,512
St. Mary-the-Virgin, Tothill-fields	1841 ...	686 ...	5,500
St. Stephen, Rochester-row	1850 ...	815 ...	6,030
Holy Trinity, Vauxhall-bridge-road... ..	1852 ...	718 ...	7,071
St. Matthew, Great Peter-street	1850 ...	529 ...	6,199
St. James-the-Less, Upper Garden-street..	1861 ...	337 ...	3,283

The dates as to the formation of the parishes must not, however, be accepted without reservation, *e.g.*, the parish of St. John was created by Instrument inrolled in the High Court of Chancery on 8th January, 1724 (*see p.* 9), and the church consecrated on the 20th June, 1728; although the Order in Council setting out the parish of St. Mary-the-Virgin was dated the 4th June, 1841, the church was consecrated on 12th October, 1837; and the foundation stones of St. Matthew's and Holy Trinity Churches were both laid on 8th November, 1849, the consecration of the former taking place in July, 1851, and that of Holy Trinity in the following year. The Order in Council defining the parish of St. Matthew was dated 7th August, 1851; that relating to Holy Trinity was issued 30th June, 1852. The first of the districts separated from the mother parish was that of

ST. MARY-THE-VIRGIN, TOTHILL FIELDS.

The Church, which contains 1,000 seats, is a modest brick building, with stone dressings, in the 'Debased Gothic' style, from the designs of Mr. Edward Blore, on the south-east side of Vincent-square, and owes its dedication to St. Mary to the fact that Archdeacon Jennings' only child at that

* The report of the Census Commissioners for 1891, in relation to the ecclesiastical parishes or districts, is not yet published.

time was named Mary.* The site was given by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster; the Church Commissioners contributed £3,000 towards the cost of the building, the Incorporated Church Building Society gave £500, and Lord Bexley presented £100 and the church-plate used at the administration of the Holy Communion. The coloured glass windows in the clerestory, by Clayton and Bell, are in memory of Mrs. Knowles, the daughter of the Rev. Abraham Borradaile, the first vicar, and were the gift of her husband. The stained glass at the west end of the north side, near the vestry door, was placed there by the congregation in memory of the first wife of Mr. Borradaile, representing her as Dorcas. The window over the Vestry door was presented by Miss Evans, in memory of her father; the two at the west end were given by Miss Colquhoun in remembrance of a friend connected with the church, and that near the organ was contributed by Martha Bradley, a valued servant of the first vicar, to the memory of her brother. On the sill of the east window, which contains representations of six New Testament subjects in coloured glass, is a brass commemorating the affectionate regard in which the Rev. George Rawlinson, one of the first curates, was held on account of his zealous labours in the parish. The brass lectern was added by the congregation as a tribute to the memory of the Rev. Abraham Borradaile, while the church is indebted to the efforts of the second Vicar, the Rev. Arthur George Warner for the organ, built by Holditch in 1874, the cost of which was defrayed by subscriptions, including one of £100 by the Worshipful Company of Grocers.

The west gallery and the portico and door at the east end of the north side, were removed in 1888, when also a general cleaning and restoration of the interior was carried out, under Messrs. Powers, Clarke, and Micklethwaite,

* Miss Jennings married the Rev. Henry Wagner, who was for upwards of fifty years rector of Brighton.

architects, at a cost of £1,300, towards which the Incorporated Society for Building Churches gave £50 on condition that all the seats should be free.

The parsonage house was erected through the efforts of Archdeacon Jennings, who, "out of his own proper moneys" purchased the leasehold of the site. The cost of the building was defrayed by the aid of an Order in Council dated 11th August, 1841, which directed the appropriation of £970 18s. 2d. by the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty to the purpose.

The marriage register contains an entry of the union, in February, 1851, of Charles Beans, a greengrocer, to Rebecca Bacon; and in August, 1852, the congregation were surprised by the "asking" of a Mr. Buggs and a Miss Bedstead. When the happy morning came, however, the register was signed by Alfred Buggs and Elizabeth Benstead.

The living has been held successively by the Rev. Abraham Borradaile (1841-1873), formerly curate of the mother church (*see p.* 115); from 1873 to 1887 by the Rev. Arthur George Warner, also formerly a curate with Archdeacon Jennings, and now rector of St. Mary-le-Bow; and from the last named date to October, 1892, by the Rev. James Macarthur, formerly curate of St. Mary, Redcliff, Bristol, and rector of Lamplugh, Cumberland, and now withdrawing on his acceptance of the vicarage of All Saints, South Acton. Attached to the church are flourishing day schools for 744 children. There are also Sunday schools and numerous agencies for promoting the welfare of the juvenile and adult parishioners.

ST. STEPHEN, ROCHESTER ROW.

A few hundred paces along the south and east sides of Vincent-square bring us to the vicarage and schools of St. Stephen, which district was formed by an Order in Council gazetted on 28th May, 1847. Turning into

Rochester-row, and embracing the magnificent church in the view, we see in the whole, a block of buildings presenting an imposing contrast to that we have just left. When it is mentioned that the whole was built and endowed by the Baroness Burdett-Coutts (then Miss Angela Burdett-Coutts), it is unnecessary to say that everything is as perfect as human effort and pious munificence can make it.

“They dreamt not of a perishable home
Who thus could build. Be mine in hours of fear
Or grovelling thought, to seek a refuge here.”

WORDSWORTH.

The original outlay upon the site, buildings, furniture, and endowments, part of which was provided by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, is stated by Mr. Walcott, in the second edition of his *Memorials*, to have been £70,000; it is now brought nearly to £90,000. An elaborate description of the church was published in the *St. Stephen's, Westminster, Historical Notes*, and in the *Parish Magazine* of November, 1890, to which we are indebted for the following particulars and dimensions, all the measurements being internal :—

The church consists of a nave, seventy-nine feet by twenty-six feet six inches wide, having north aisle eleven feet eight inches wide, and a south aisle thirteen feet wide, the difference in width being caused by the configuration of the site, scarcely noticeable in execution. The north porch, next to Rochester Row, is of fine proportions eleven feet three inches wide, by twelve feet long, and is placed in the second bay from the west. There is also a west doorway to the nave. The chancel arch is of majestic proportions consisting of triplet shafts having capitals handsomely carved. The chancel is unusually long (forty seven feet) in proportion to its width, or in fact as chancels go, as it is twenty feet six inches wide. There is a south chancel aisle thirteen feet wide by fifteen feet long, divided from the chancel by an archway filled in with a rich traceried and crenellated oak perforated screen. On the north side of the chancel is a somewhat similar arch and screen opening out into the tower, the ground story of which is devoted principally to the organ. Here is an unusually wide, thick, and handsomely panelled arch. Another noteworthy feature in the structure is the great buttress on the west side of the tower necessarily from its situation projecting into the north nave aisle. Instead of being an eyesore and obstruction it is made an attractive object by the

skilful manner in which its face is delicately panelled. Moreover, through it is continued the approach to the pulpit. This is also according to the mediæval spirit, *i.e.*, the conquering of constructional difficulties instead of shirking them. Thus much for the ground plan of St. Stephen's.

The materials used are, for the general walling, Bargate rag-stone, from Godalming, and for the quoins and dressings externally, Morpeth (Northumberland) Sandstone. Caen stone is used for this purpose in the interior. The whole of the woodwork internally is oak, *i.e.*, roofs, benches, choir-seats, doors, &c., and also the screens on the north and south sides of the chancel, dividing off respectively the tower and the south chancel aisle. Externally, all the roofs are covered with lead of more than the usual weight, still happily in an excellent state of preservation. The walls internally are rough stuccoed and decorated in colour. The passages of the nave and aisles are paved with plain six-inch black and red tiles ; but in the chancel Minton's tiles, of a more ornamental description and pattern, have been employed. In order to enrich and emphasize the risers of the steps in the chancel, lacquered brass perforated texts have been fixed to them.

There are five bays to the nave arcade, the pillars of which are of handsomely moulded form with carved capitals, greatly varied, the pier on the north side next the pulpit being particularly noticeable, as it is made a feature by having twelve sculptured heads, portraits representing noteworthy personages connected with or interested in the church at the time it was built. This carving was executed by the late Mr. G. Peter White, of Vauxhall-bridge-road, who afterwards carried out extensive works of restoration as contractor at Wells, Rochester and Salisbury Cathedrals. The capitals are much varied, with carvings of birds, flowers, and many varieties of leafage. There is a lofty clerestory to the nave, with two-light windows, the windows to the aisles being three-light, with elegant tracery. The roof to the nave is open timbered, the principal trusses having collars and arched braces carried on moulded stone shafts. The aisle roofs also have principals with arched braces, the spandrels of which are filled in with ornamental tracery. West of the chancel arch is placed a handsome oak faldstool. The brass eagle lectern was presented to the church at Easter, 1888, by the penny subscriptions of the St. Stephen's Guild. There are seven steps up to the Altar. The clergy vestry is on the ground story of the tower, behind the organ. The seats to the body of the church are handsomely moulded and panelled, and have square ends, with miniature buttresses. In the chancel there are sixteen stalls, with handsome bookboard, having richly traceried fronts, the westernmost stall on the south side being advanced a little more as a clergy reading desk. The font is of Caen stone, octagonal in plan, with sculptured lambs at each angle of the base. It is of very handsome design with sculptured panels containing the following subjects :—The Circumcision ; Baptism of Our Lord ; Our Lord blessing little children ; and the Resurrection. The remaining four

panels are occupied by shields bearing emblems of the Passion. The pulpit is also of Caen stone, oblong in plan at the base set at an angle of forty-five degrees, and with a three-sided corbelled front, richly panelled and carved with angels' heads. The sedilia are three in number, with rich stone canopies against the wall ; they are lined with richly embroidered velvet.

There is a very elaborate mural memorial of Mr. Brown, containing sculptured subjects all executed in alabaster. This is placed on the north wall of the north aisle, just to the east of the north doorway. On the opposite side, on the south aisle wall, is a bust of the first vicar, the Rev. William Tennant, carried on a handsome carved stone corbel. There are also some memorial brasses on the walls. Handsome lacquered brass brackets, in character with the architecture of the church, carry curtains to the north and west doorways. The principal doorways to the west and south of the church are treated more ornamentally internally than is usual in parish churches, having shafts and moulded stone arches. The hinges and door furniture are also very rich and elaborate, all, of course, executed in wrought iron. The painted glass is principally by Wailes, of Newcastle, except where there are the diapered quarries invented by Powell, of Whitefriars.

The tower, standing on the north side of the chancel, is thirteen feet (internally) and seventy-six feet high from the ground level to the top of the parapet. At the angles are semi-octagonal turrets having bold projecting buttresses, with crocketed gablets at each set-off, four in number, the turrets terminating with octagonal pinnacles above the parapet, having cusped gablets, and ornamented with carving and crochets at the angles. In the turret at the north-west angle is the staircase leading to the belfry and other stages of the tower. On each side at the parapet level is a richly-carved niche, carried on moulded stone shafts, containing the figure of a saint. At the belfry stage are two two-light windows on each side, deeply moulded and filled in with louvres. . . . The octagonal spire rises 102 feet from the top of the parapets to the top of the capping, and has three tiers of spire-lights arranged on four sides, and the angles of the spire are finished with a bold roll moulding. The cap stone is surmounted with ornamental ironwork and weather vane. All the external walls of the church and porch are finished on top with stone parapets, that to the nave having a carved string under it. The chancel parapets are pierced, forming rich flowing cusped tracery, the strings under being enriched with the ball-flower ornament. The buttresses are all enriched at the set-offs and terminations with crocketed and cusped gablets, and those at the east end of the chancel are carried up to form richly-panelled pinnacles, and finished with crocketed gablets and carved finials.

The buttresses to the north porch are also enriched with cusped panels, and in the gable is a moulded niche containing the figure of the patron Saint. The north and west doorways have very richly moulded arches and jambs with carved capitals, and the labels of the doors and windows have various carved heads at their terminations.

On the south side of the chancel a new Choir Vestry and Parish Room has been erected, twenty-five feet three inches long and eighteen feet wide, and a corridor formed between the external wall of south chancel aisle and the adjoining Townshend School buildings, giving communication between the new structure and the Church, the entrance being under a new moulded archway immediately west of the chancel aisle. The corridor windows are glazed with white cathedral glass set in lead of ornamental patterns. The entrance doors are of oak, hung on ornamental strap hinges.

During the erection of the new Choir Vestry, &c., extensive cleaning and repairs were carried out in the Church from the drawings, and under the superintendence of Mr. B. Edmund Ferrey, F.S.A., of 15, Spring Gardens, S.W., son of the late Benjamin Ferrey, F.S.A., the Architect of the Church, Vicarage, and Schools.

In connection with this restoration the warming apparatus was renewed, the electric light installed, and, at a cost of £655, a new organ, by Gern, built.

The church records, some of which were reprinted in the *Historical Notes* above referred to, contain the following account of the ceremony of laying the foundation stone, which took place on St. Margaret's Day, 20th July, 1847 :—

“At two o'clock the procession entered the enclosure, preceded by the officials bearing their silver staves. Amongst those present were :—Miss Angela Burdett-Coutts (who was accompanied by Lady King, Lady Antrobus, Miss Burdett, and Mrs. Ramsden), The Lord Bishop of London, The Lord Bishop of Oxford, Earl Brownlow, Lord Sandon, M.P., Lord Ashley, The Very Rev. Dr. Buckland, Dean of Westminster, The Ven. John Sinclair, M.A., Archdeacon of Middlesex, The Rev. Lord John Thynne, M.A., Canon of Westminster, The Ven. Archdeacon Bentinck, Foster Owen, Esq., High Constable of Westminster, The Right Rev. Dr. Short, Bishop of Adelaide, South Australia (the new See endowed by Miss Coutts), The Lord Bishop of Tasmania, Sir Frederick Trench, Colonel Stuart, The Rev. Edward Repton, M.A., Canon of Westminster, and a large number of clergy. The general arrangements were under the superintendence of the High Constable. A large number of persons assembled, and the walls and housetops commanding a view of the ceremony were fringed with spectators.

“The appointed office was read by The Bishop of London, and three of the Canons of the Abbey Church of Westminster.

“The bottle of coins and the inscription plate being placed within the stone, Miss Coutts spread the mortar with an elegant trowel ; the stone was then lowered from the tramway, and it being adjusted the Foundress said :—

“‘We place this foundation stone in faith and hope to the glory of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.’

"Miss Coutts then slightly struck the stone thrice with the mallet."

A Hymn was next sung by children of the Grey Coat, Green Coat, Blue Coat, and Emery Hill's Schools.

A Psalm and three other Prayers and Collects were then read, and the Bishop of London addressed the assembly and pronounced the Blessing ; after which "God save the Queen" was sung, and the congregation dispersed ; three cheers being given as they retired from the platform.

The church, we should add, has seats for from 850 to 900 persons ; and on the day of consecration there were nearly 1,500 present.

The schools, which accommodate nearly 1,000 children, are of extremely picturesque design, and their gabled roof and moulded chimnies add much to the appearance and character of the building.

The weights, notes, and inscriptions on St. Stephen's bells are as follows :—

Tenor D	24'	0	18	"Unto our God for ever and ever. Amen. Halleluiah."
7th E	18	0	10	"Might."
6th F	14	0	2	"Power."
5th G	11	3	0	"Honour."
4th A	9	2	13	"Thanksgiving,"
3rd B	8	4	2	"Wisdom."
2nd C	7	1	18	"Glory."
Treble D	6	2	22	"Blessing."
Total weight : 5 tons 2 qrs. 1 lb.				
An octave in the key of D.				

Mears, London.—MDCCCL.

The Persian silk curtain which hangs over the pulpit was presented to the Church by the great Duke of Wellington. It was taken from the tent of Tippoo Sahib, at the storming of Seringapatam. It is tapestry work of the 16th century.

The Vicarage has been held by the following :—

1849—1879. Rev. William Tennant (deceased).

1880—1889. Ven. William Macdonald Sinclair, Archdeacon of London, and Canon of St. Paul's.

1889. Rev. William Henry Greaves Twining.

By an Order in Council on the 4th April, 1856, all future burials in the church are prohibited, with the exception of the noble foundress and Mrs. Brown, one of her ladyship's many personal friends, the widow of a gentleman who had been laid in a vault at the date of the Order.

Connected with the church are the Townshend Schools, besides the National Schools already mentioned, which

maintain the high position they have long held among the schools in the Westminster Division. There are also some thirty agencies for ameliorating the condition of the people in the midst of whom the church is placed, and the majority of whom are described as “day labourers, cab-drivers, cab-washers, washerwomen and charwomen, slop-workers, and the like.”

ST. MATTHEW, GREAT PETER STREET.

A very short walk eastward from Rochester-row brings us to one of the very poorest districts of the metropolis—worse even than the locality which Dickens described as “the dingiest collection of shabby buildings ever squeezed together in a rank corner as a club for Tom cats”—a district of which Cardinal Wiseman spoke as “slums”—and such a district as the late lamented Poet Laureate delineated in his *Maud* forty years ago:—

Peace sitting under her olive, and slurring the days gone by,
 When the poor are hovell'd and hustled together, each sex,
 like swine,
 When only the ledger lives, and when only not all men lie ;
 Peace in her vineyard—yes !—but a company forges the wine.
 And the vitriol madness flushes up in the ruffian's head,
 Till the filthy by-lane rings to the yell of the trampled wife ;
 And chalk and alum and plaster are sold to the poor for bread,*
 And the spirit of murder works in the very means of life ;
 And sleep must lie down arm'd, for the villanous centre-bits
 Grind on the wakeful ear in the hush of the moonless nights,
 While another is cheating the sick of a few last gasps as he sits,
 To pestle a poison'd poison behind his crimson lights.

The author of *Ragged London*, published in 1862, after relating his experiences on visiting many of the dirty and repulsive dwellings occupied by Irish labourers in the vicinity of the gas works, declared them to be all brightness and purity when compared with other places near. “Enter,” he says, “a narrow street called St. Ann's-lane, glance at a fearful side-place called St. Ann's-court, and wonder if ever such filth and squalor can be exceeded. The court had

* The Adulteration of Food Acts were not passed at this time,

every feature of a sewer, and a long puddle of filth soaked in a hollow centre. The passages of the low black huts on either side were like old sooty chimneys. As I turned round to leave the place, I caught a glimpse of several rough, long-haired heads peeping round the edges of the entrance."

Accompanying the same author into an adjoining street—let us remember he wrote more than thirty years ago—he remarks that "many of the houses have no flooring in their passages, and there is nothing for the barefooted children to stand upon but the black, damp, uneven earth. A child, dirty and nearly naked, was hanging out of one of the old-fashioned casement windows; and in the summer time it is no unusual thing to see about fifty coarse women exhibiting themselves in the same manner." Our author summarises his reference to the moral and social degradation of the locality by declaring that, "of all the criminal districts in London, it is now the worst."

"Here was no pavement, no inviting shop,
To give us shelter when compelled to stop;
But plashy puddles stood along the way,
Filled by the rain of one tempestuous day,
And these so closely to the buildings run,
That you must ford them, for you could not shun;
Though here and there convenient bricks were laid,
And door-side heaps afforded dubious aid."

CRABBE.

In the very midst of this district stands a church, so irregular in its ground plan, and so hemmed in with houses, as to indicate the distortions it had to undergo in its struggle to obtain admission into the territory of gloom. Although the freehold of the site was given by the Dean and Chapter, possession had to be acquired piecemeal, as opportunity offered for the purchase of the leases of the miserable houses. The absence of compulsory powers of purchase, and the unwillingness of some of the lessees to sell, rendered it impossible to obtain a site which would afford space for the schools, and at the same time admit of a reasonable

frontage for the church. Consequently the church is in a great measure concealed from the passer-by, the principal views being from narrow openings on Great Peter-street and St. Ann's-lane.

“ No more—the time
Is conscious of her want ; through England's bounds,
In rival haste, the wished-for temples rise !
I hear their Sabbath bells' harmonious chime
Float on the breeze—the heavenliest of all sounds.”

WORDSWORTH.

The foundation stone was laid on Thursday, 8th November, 1849, in the presence of many of the clergy and nobility and of a great crowd of spectators. The proceedings commenced with a special service in the parish church of St. John the Evangelist, at which the sermon was preached by the Bishop of London. A procession was then formed consisting of the Bishop of London, Lord Robert Grosvenor, M.P., the High Bailiff of Westminster, the Dean of St. Paul's, Canons Frere. Wordsworth, and Repton, Archdeacon Bentinck, Rev. John Jennings, Rev. L. Mackenzie, the Rev. V. K. Child, Rev. S. P. Davies, Rev. A. Borradaile, Rev. W. Tennant, Rev. W. Jephson, Rev. R. Hooper, Rev. H. James. Rev. W. H. Davies, Rev. C. W. Page, Rev. H. Wilson, Rev. W. Cope, Rev. W. Harden, Rev. J. L. Wigglesworth, Rev. E. Edwards, and the churchwardens and other officers of the united parishes. The Bishop of London read the prayers and psalms, and the Rev. A. Borradaile the portion of scripture, the singing of the Old Hundredth being led by the children from the school in Old Pye-street. The stone was laid by Lord Robert Grosvenor.

The church, which is in the early decorated style, was designed by the late Sir Gilbert Scott for the accommodation of twelve hundred* worshippers, and cost between £12,000 and £13,000, which was raised by subscriptions through the efforts of Archdeacon Jennings and his assis-

* The number of seats has since been reduced by nearly three hundred, by the removal of the gallery from the south aisle.

tant clergy, aided by grants from the Dean and Chapter and the Incorporated Church Building Society. The tower and spire have not been completed. The chancel is lighted by a bold east window of five lights, and by three windows on the south and one on the north side, the remainder of that side being occupied by the chancel aisle and vestry. The nave, with its aisles, consists of five bays or arches, and is chiefly lighted from the clerestory and from a large west window which is above the surrounding houses. The nave and chancel occupying the whole available area of that part of the site lying east and west, but not affording the required accommodation, a third aisle is constructed into the southern arm of the ground, so that the nave has one aisle on the north and two on the south. The principal entrance is on the south side, through the unfinished tower; there are also doors on the west side and on the north-east in St. Ann's-lane.

A carved oak screen, presented by Mr. William Gibbs, who was a liberal donor to the funds for the church and its various agencies, divides the second south porch from the nave, by which means the aisle is made serviceable as a chapel. All the chancel windows, with those in the east end and the south aisle, were ornamented with coloured glass during the incumbency of the first vicar, and another in the north aisle, representing St. Agnes and St. Elizabeth of Hungary, was added in memory of Miss Mengens during the incumbency of Rev. W. H. Turle, by whom the lectern was given in memory of his mother.

The second window in the north aisle was the gift of the relatives of Dr. Nathanael Rogers, who died in 1868; the east window was presented by the family of the late Mr. Waterfield, of Dean's-yard, and a few other donors; those in the chancel are due to the generosity of Capt. Dighton, Mrs. Waterfield, Mr. Pearse, and Mr. Carter Wood. The 'arcading' in the chancel was a tribute to the memory of Capt. Dibdin Dighton, who died in 1882; and there is a

tablet to the memory of Mr. Thomas Freeman, who died on 10th January, 1865.

In close contiguity to the church are well attended national schools, a convenient Mission room in constant use for a variety of parochial purposes, and a commodious clergy house and parish hall recently erected at a cost exceeding £1,000, raised by donations through the untiring exertions of the present vicar.

The living, which was for many years a perpetual curacy, has been held by:—

1851-66. The Rev. Richard Malone, of Queen's College, Cambridge, where he graduated M.A. 1849. He had previously held curacies at Bexhill, Sussex (1846-7), St. Michael, Pimlico (1849), and the perpetual curacy of Christ Church, Plymouth (1849-50). Mr. Malone, on leaving St. Matthew's, became vicar of St. Paul, Cornwall (1866-76), and of Potton, Beds (1876-87). He now resides at Penzance, and is a licensed preacher in the diocese of Truro.

1866-84. The Rev. Willam Honey Turle, of New College, Oxford, eldest son of James Turle, organist of Westminster Abbey. He graduated B.A. in 1851, M.A., 1855, and was ordained priest by the Bishop of London in the same year. He had previously held a curacy at the parish church of St. John the Evangelist (1854-66), and is now vicar of Horsell, near Woking.

1884. The Rev. William Bouverie Trevelyan, the present vicar, who graduated M.A. in 1879, and was formerly curate of St. Giles, Reading (1877-79), and Calverton, Bucks (1879-81). Mr. Trevelyan was vice-principal of Ely College from 1881 to 1884.

To the self-sacrificing labours of these faithful ministers and their colleagues is mainly due the amelioration of the condition of the parish, which, according to the last published return, contains nearly 8,000 souls. True, there is much yet to be done; much to call for the active sympathy of all thoughtful people with the patient endeavours of the clergy—there are few parishes in which it is not so; but we do not hear, nowadays, of organised attempts to prevent the services in the church from proceeding, or of such depravity as existed at the time the church was founded.

During the cholera epidemic of 1848, a medical gentleman was called to visit a sufferer in one of the streets on which the church now abuts. While stooping over the poor creature to administer medicine, with which he was provided in readiness, his coat pockets were emptied of their contents by the dying woman's husband! At the first services in the new church, the inhabitants of the courts mustered in force to interrupt the worship by the beating of empty barrels, the breaking of the windows, and other disorderly conduct. They also stole stack-pipes, iron gratings, and such other things as could be removed, while the scripture reader was assaulted and nearly killed. We are not surprised, therefore, that the Rev. Richard Malone records that the condition of the parish when he commenced his ministry in 1851 was "very sad"—such as to remind us of Milton's comprehensive lines—

"Where peace
And rest can never dwell, hope never comes,
That comes to all."

Now, to say the least, such depredation and violence have ceased, and the clergy are received with civility, which is extended to those who, as lay helpers, co-operate with them. Many are the causes to which so welcome a change is attributable. Mr. Malone wrote in November, 1891, "In Old Pye-street, Duck-lane, St. Ann's-street, and the adjacent courts, numbers of street beggars and thieves lodged. A class of blind beggars was opened numbering over 60: they were taught to read, and many afterwards attended the church services. An industrial school was opened for the street boys, who were taught to make paper bags and to set up type; and many were placed in good situations. A refuge for thieves was also opened in Great Smith-street, and nearly a hundred of these men, in process of regeneration, were induced to attend the services of the church." Social meetings were organised by a band of ladies for the entertainment of the poor in the winter evenings; an infant

nursery was established with great success ; scripture readers, mission women, and a nurse to attend the sick poor at their homes were engaged ; a cookery class was set on foot for the double purpose of instructing girls and young women in cooking and for supplying the sick and the very poor with properly cooked food, and besides the schools attached to the church, there were no less than five ragged schools in the parish. Clubs, penny-banks, bible classes, and mothers' meetings were among the other movements set on foot, in addition to which Mrs. Buckland, the wife of the then Dean of Westminster, took a leading part in the establishment of a reading and refreshment room in Old Pye-street for working-men, to which Her Majesty the Queen contributed £50 as a token of her approval and sympathy.

A provident loan society also conferred much benefit upon its members by advancing them, under proper regulations, small sums of money to purchase barrows, or to renew their "stock-in-trade" after illness or other misfortune. Mr. Malone concludes his remarkable list of benevolent agencies by observing, as an illustration of the extreme poverty of some of the people, that "many of the bereaved mothers were unable to clothe themselves in any kind of mourning to attend the funerals of their relatives or children. We provided suits of mourning to lend to such poor people, and scarcely any other help was received with more gratitude."

In 1863-4 model dwellings for nearly 600 persons were erected in Old Pye-street by Mr. W. Gibbs, who also contributed upwards of £200 per annum towards the engagement of an additional curate and a mission-woman. In 1877-8 a large area was cleared of its unhealthy dwellings under an improvement scheme carried out by the Metropolitan Board of Works, and two large blocks of dwellings for the industrial classes have since been erected thereon by the Trustees of the Peabody Fund. These changes, with a systematic supervision of the lodging houses by the police,

and a more diligent enforcement of sanitary laws in recent years, have combined, with the untiring efforts of the clergy and their lay helpers—for nearly all the parts of the parochial machinery, with slight alterations in detail and in name, continue in active operation—to raise the parish to a condition which bears a favourable comparison with what it was when the church was consecrated in July, 1851.

HOLY TRINITY, BESSBOROUGH GARDENS.

At the termination of the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of St. Matthew's Church, the procession re-formed and directed its steps towards the south-east end of Vauxhall bridge-road, where, to meet the wants of the new district then rapidly developing, a site for a new church in Bessborough-gardens had been given by Mr. Thomas Cubitt, M.P., the ground landlord of the estate.

“Be this the chosen site ;—the virgin sod,
Moistened from age to age by dewy eve,
Shall disappear—and grateful earth receive
The corner-stone from hands that build to God.”

WORDSWORTH.

Arrived at the site, a similar ceremony was performed to that which the assembly had shared in two hours previously, except that in this instance the stone was “well and truly laid” by Mrs. Bentinck, the wife of Archdeacon Bentinck, by whose munificence the cost of the building, amounting to £17,000, was defrayed. In the course of his address, Dr. Blomfield declared it to be the only instance within his experience in which the foundation stones of two churches had been laid in one civil parish on the same day. The Latin inscription on the stone may be translated as follows:—

“The first stone of this Church, intended to be erected at the sole expense of the Rev. W. H. Bentinck, M.A., Archdeacon and Prebendary of Westminster, was laid on the 18th November, 1849, by Mrs. Frances Elizabeth Bentinck ; C. J. Blomfield, D.D., being at the time Bishop of the Diocese, the Rev. John Jennings, M.A., Rector of St. John's, and the Rev. A. Borradaile, M.A., Perpetual Curate of the District.”

The church was consecrated in 1852, at which time it was looked upon as one of the best specimens of the English gothic of the early decorated style then in vogue. It was one of the first of the many ecclesiastical structures which we owe to our great living architect, Mr. J. L. Pearson, R.A. In plan it is cruciform, and consists of a nave and aisles, transepts, with tower and spire at the crossing nearly 200 feet high, supported at the four corners by massive and well-proportioned clustered columns, a chancel slightly wider than the nave, small chapel on the south side, in which is a fine window of four lights representing the principal miracles of our Lord, and vestry and organ chamber on the north. The nave is lighted by a clerestory and a large and richly traceried west window. It is divided into five bays by pillars of varying plan, either circular, octagonal, or clustered shafts. The north and south porches are near the west end of the aisles, and are barrel vaulted in stone. The remainder of the church, with the exception of the lantern under the tower, has open timbered roofs, those of the nave, chancel, and transepts having curved principles and hammer beams.

The tower is open internally to a height of fifty-five feet, and forms a lantern, which is groined over in stone, and the effect of the light shining through the coloured windows of this lantern is very beautiful. The altar is raised six steps above the level of the nave, and is placed on a footpace.

The east window, architecturally a very noble one, contains seven lights, with geometrical tracery above; the centre light represents the Crucifixion, with the raising and descent from the Cross on either side; next to these the Resurrection and the Ascension, with the charge to St. Peter and the 'Touch me not' on the extreme left and right. This coloured glass was given by the congregation in 1871 in memory of the incumbency of the Rev. Dr. Cosens.

There are some good carved oak stalls in the chancel, which is paved with encaustic tiles.

The organ, which was built in 1852, is by Walker. The fine tower contains a frame for six bells, but only one, about 12 cwt., in G, has been placed in it, the founders being Messrs. John Taylor & Co., of Loughborough.

The vicarage has been held by the following :—

1852-1864. The Rev. C. F. Secretan of Wadham College, Oxford ; B.A. 1842, M.A. 1847. (Deceased.)

1864-1870. The Rev. William Reyner Cosens, D.D., of Hertford College, Oxford. He graduated M.A. in 1855, and B.D. and D.D. in 1872. He had previously held the curacies of Warminster, Wilts (1853) ; Laverstock, Wilts (1854) ; the rectory of St. Andrew, Chichester, 1855-57 ; he was secretary to the Additional Curates Society, 1857-65 ; and is now vicar of Dudley.

1870. The present vicar is the Rev. George Miller, M.A., of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1862, and M.A. in 1866. He was curate of the mother Church from 1865 to 1870.

The patronage of the living, which originally vested in Archdeacon Bentinck, who partially endowed it, was transferred to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster by an Order in Council, dated 25th November, 1863.

The parish, which contained a population of 7071 according to the last published returns, has excellent national schools for 634 children situated in the Vauxhall bridge-road, where also a larger number attend the Sunday Schools. In the same road, at the corner of Roehampton-street is a clergy-house, and a parish room capable of seating upwards of 100 persons. The parochial organisation includes the Guild of the Holy Trinity for those who assist in the parish work ; the Guild of St. Andrew, for lads and youths, to which is attached a gymnasium and recreation rooms ; the Guild of St. Mary, for girls ; a Church Burial Guild ; a branch of the Church Temperance Guild, and a club room for the choir, which numbers upwards of sixty members ; besides a soup

kitchen, a children's dinner fund and many other charities for the benefit of the sick and poor whose requirements are unceasingly studied.

ST. JAMES-THE-LESS, UPPER GARDEN STREET.

Immediately adjoining the district we have just left is that of St. James-the-Less, the most recently formed ecclesiastical division in 'our parish,' and another monument of the individual munificence to which the poorer part of Westminster is indebted for its extension of church work. The church and schools were erected on a site given by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster at the sole cost of the Misses Monk, as a memorial to their father who, before his consecration as Bishop of Gloucester, had been many years a canon of Westminster.

The style of architecture adopted for the church by the late Mr. George Edmund Street was Lombardic Venetian,* with a campanile tower, and attracted much attention for some time after the opening of the church as being one of his most successful works.

The church, which affords seating accommodation for 600 persons, consists of a nave and chancel, with north and south aisles to both. It has a detached steeple, forming an ante-porch, with porch connecting it with the north aisle. The height of the tower and slated porch is 134 feet. The materials used are mainly red and black bricks, stone, and marble. The apse has windows of three lights, with a rose-window in the head, filled with stained glass, representing types and anti-types of Christ. Between these descend the groining-ribs, to rest upon banded shafts of polished marble. The reredos below the line of lights is of white stone inlaid (with a black composition) with figures of holy women, commencing on the left with Mary the mother of James, then Mary Magdalene, St. Elizabeth, and the Virgin Mary; then, on the other side of the reredos proper, come the wife

* Mr. Timbs classifies the style as Byzantine Gothic.

of Manoh, Hannah, Ruth, and Sarah. Bands of red and yellow tiles are inserted between these figures, which are represented in niches, dividing them into twos.

Immediately over the altar is a cross of vari-coloured Irish marbles, set with studs of Derbyshire spar. Within the apse come the transept aisles ; in that on the left is the organ. Two drop arches, on broad shafts of polished granite, with carved caps, and resting on tall plinths (the height of the choir seats), divide these transept aisles from the choir. Each transept aisle is, in itself, divided by a shaft of Bath stone in its centre, whence spring arches to the side piers of the choir. The two shafts which are on each side of the nave are of polished red granite, with bands of Bath stone midway of their heights ; the caps are carved, illustrative of the parables and miracles. Over the chancel arch is a fresco painted by G. F. Watts, representing a sitting figure of Our Lord in the centre, with groups of angels on each side, and the four Evangelists below, on a gold ground. The pulpit is of stone and marble, and is very richly sculptured by Earp ; it contains figures of the four Doctors of the Western Church and the four Evangelists, and on the panels, which are divided from each other by shafts of green marble, are illustrations of preaching :— 1. St. John the Baptist, preaching ; 2. Dispute with the Doctors ; 3. The Sermon on the Mount ; 4. St. Augustine of Canterbury, preaching. The chancel gates are of wrought iron and ornamental brasswork. The pavement of the body of the church is formed of Maw's tiles, and that of the chancel has marble inserted. The steps leading to the chancel and altar are of black Isle of Man limestone. The roof has been painted by Clayton and Bell, with the Tree of Jesse and the Genealogy of Our Lord, typical busts of the personages being introduced in medallions along the sides of the span in a line on either hand. The stained glass throughout is also by Clayton and Bell.

The two windows in the nave and that in the apse were

the gift of the late Mrs. Monk; nine of those in the aisles were presented by the late Sir H. A. Hunt, the remaining seven in the aisles were the result of the collections made by the Penny Association connected with the church, and that in the south-east end was provided by Mrs. Tucker, in memory of her husband, the late Mr. F. J. Tucker, for many years one of the churchwardens. There is a tablet in the south wall to the memory of Bishop Monk. The splendid alabaster font and its brass surroundings, together with the handsome brass lectern, were contributed by the congregation, the lectern in record of the unceasing liberality of the Misses Monk to the church and the parish during more than thirty years. These ladies have recently added to the schools they erected in 1865 for 500 children, a new infants' school, a parish room and a choir vestry.

For its endowment the living is indebted to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

The district was formed by an Order in Council dated 26th April, 1862, for the relief of that of St. Mary the Virgin, Tothill-fields, and occupies the area lying between the west side of the Vauxhall bridge-road and the east side of Tachbrook-street, with Churton-street on the north and Moreton-street on the south. The residents are, with the exception of a few tradesmen, almost entirely of the working classes and the very poor. In the interests of the latter numerous provident societies and clubs have been established and maintained by the unwearying liberality and personal assistance of many of the congregation who reside beyond the limits of the parish; a *crèche*, for the care of infants while their mothers are at work, has been open for more than twenty-five years, and similar religious and charitable agencies to those existing in the parishes already described are zealously conducted for the welfare of the inhabitants.

The first vicar was the Rev. George David William Dickson, of Exeter College, Oxford, where he graduated

M.A. in 1849. He was formerly curate of St. Michael, Chester-square, and having held the living of St James-the-Less from 1861 to 1889, left it to take the vicarage of King's Somborne with Little Somborne, and the rectory of Upper Eldon, Hants. According to Crockford for 1892 the last-named parish has a population of six persons.

The present vicar is the Rev. William Lowery Blackley, of Trinity College, Dublin ; B.A., 1851 ; M.A., 1854 ; F.S.S., 1885 ; hon. canon of Winchester, 1884. Canon Blackley was formerly curate of St. Peter, Southwark (1854), curate of Frensham, Surrey (1854-67), rector of North Waltham, Hants (1867-83), rector of Upper (1885-9), and vicar of King's with Lower Somborne, Hants (1883-9). Canon Blackley is author of *The Frithiof Saga, or Lay of Frithiof, from the Swedish of Esaias Tegner*, 1857 ; *The Practical German Dictionary*, Longmans, 1866 ; *The Critical English (New) Testament*, 3 vols., Strahan, 1866-7 ; and *Word Gossip*, Longmans, 1869.

Retracing our steps preparatory to commencing a cursory glance at some of the streets in the parish we need only pause to notice

ST. MARY'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

This small and unpretentious building in Horseferry-road was erected in 1813, mainly through the efforts of the Rev. W. Hurst, the learned Professor of Theology at Valladolid, and translator of the writings of the Venerable Bede. It was enlarged and beautified in 1852, and is now served by the Fathers of the Jesuit Order. The sculpture over the alter represents the Annunciation of our Lady, and is said to possess great artistic merit. The sculptor was Phyffers.

From the Reformation down to 1792 there was no recognised place of worship for those of the Roman Catholic faith in Westminster. In that year a small chapel was opened in York-street ; but the services were discontinued from want of funds in 1798. In 1802 the chaplains of the

Neapolitan Embassy inaugurated services in Great Smith-street, which, however, only continued three years. A temporary chapel was next opened in Dartmouth-street, where the congregation continued to assemble until the present church was opened.

At the corner of Vincent-square and Rochester-row, on the site now occupied by a part of St. Stephen's Schools, was a temporary iron building in 1846-8, which was used as a place of worship by the "Irvingites," whose services are now conducted in the Catholic Apostolic Church in that part of Orchard-street which is in St. Margaret's parish.

The other places of worship which present themselves to our view are the Wesleyan Chapel in Horseferry-road, facing Regency-street, noticed in connection with the Wesleyan Training College in chapter XV., and the Romney-street Baptist Chapel founded in 1805.



CHAPTER IX.

TOTHILL FIELDS.

Lo I must tell a tale of chivalry ;
For large white plumes are dancing in mine eye
Not like the formal crest of latter days :
But bending in a thousand graceful ways ;

Lo I must tell a tale of chivalry ;
For while I muse, the lance points slantingly
Athwart the morning air
Ah ! shall I ever tell its cruelty,
When the fire flashes from a warrior's eye,
And his tremendous hand is grasping it,
And his dark brow for very wrath is knit ?
Or when his spirit with more calm intent,
Leaps to the honours of a tournament,
And makes the gazers round about the ring
Stare at the grandeur of the balancing."

KEATS.

"I can repeople with the past—and of
The present there is still for eye and thought,
And meditation chasten'd down, enough ;
And more, it may be, than I hoped or sought."

BYRON.

Ancient appearance and topography.—Legendary history.—Etymological.—The Hill.—Soil and Produce.—Tournaments and Justs.—Wagers of battle and judicial combats.—Wyatt's Rebellion.—The Fairs.—Sanctuary, its evil results.—The Cock-pits.—Bull and Bear baiting.—Well's Bear-garden.—Supposed race-course.—"Up Fields."—Two worthies, Baldwin and Hebbefield.—"Counsellor Bickerton, Esq."—William Collins, the artist.

TO the mind's eye of the Revd. Mr. Ridgway, Westminster (together with much of what is now called London) presented the appearance more than twelve hundred years ago, of a long range of rising ground, covered with a vast forest :—

"And eek the names that the trees highte—
As ok, firre, birch, aspe, alder, holm, popeler,
Wylugh, elm, plane, asshe, box, chasteyn, lynde, laurer,
Mapul, thorn, bech, hasel, ew, whippetre."

CHAUCER.

“filled with wild deer, wild boars, and wild bulls, more like the backwoods of Canada, or the bush of Australia, than any scenery now existing in Britain.”* Between the spots now marked by the bridges of Westminster and Vauxhall, and further west towards Chelsea, lay a wide wilderness of country, stretching northwards in a gentle slope towards the hills of Hampstead. Land and water intermingled next the river in marsh and morass, which extended over the whole of the locality known to-day as Pimlico and Belgravia. The region known to us as Bessborough-gardens barely emerged from the spreading river, but was given up “for a possession for the bittern, and pools of water” where the solitary heron, the royal swan, and the morose bustard found a congenial haunt, and the ruff and reeve, the wild duck and water-rail lived fearless among the reeds and rushes of the marshes. On the eastern side, where the Abbey stands, appeared Thorney Island (or Thorn Ey, the Isle of Thorns), surrounded by fen and thicket, and affording in the thorny jungle a refuge for the wild ox and the huge red deer with towering antlers, that strayed into it from the neighbouring hills.†

The wild nature of the spot may be inferred from the fact of the first Benedictine monks having chosen it as a site for their little colony, affording as it did security for themselves, and abundance of fish for their refectory. The charter of Offa describes it as “in loco terribili, quod dicitur æt Westmunster,” and Fitzstephen speaks of the river as “fluvius maximus, *piscosus*,”—swarming with fish.

Behind the marshy swamp which fringed the river along Millbank, lay Bulinga Fen, from which, in course of time, the water gradually drained away, and left a tract of peaty soil, afterwards known as Tothill-fields. The

* *The Gem of Thorney Island.*

† Dean Stanley's *Memorials*. The bones of such an ox were discovered under the foundations of the Victoria Tower, and bones and antlers of the elk and red-deer in making the metropolitan railway under the Broad Sanctuary.

derivation of this name has given occasion for much ingenious speculation among antiquarians, but the consensus of evidence would attribute it to a hill or beacon forming the highest point of the fields.* Mr. Timbs, in his *Curiosities of London*, mentions that the name occurs in an ancient lease as Toot-hill or Beacon Field, which Mr. Hudson Turner suggested to Mr. Cunningham as the probable origin. Norden, the topographer of Westminster in the time of Elizabeth, speaks of "Tootehill-street, lying on the west part of this citie, taketh name of a hill near it, in the great feyld near the street." In Rocque's map (1746), a hill is shown in Tothill-fields, just at the bend in that ancient causeway, the Horseferry-road. Hollar's etching also shows it. Mr. Edwin Lees, in *Hone's Year Book*, states that the Toot-hills, which are found scattered all over the country, were consecrated to the Celtic deity *Teutates*, and this druidical worship is connected by antiquarians with that of *Tuisto* by the Germans, as observed by Tacitus, and even with the Egyptian *Thoth*. Mr. Thoms relates that good Dean Turton† once told the founder of *Notes and Queries* "how pleased he was when made Dean of Westminster, to find himself connected with one of our old Toot Hills. It would have gladdened the heart of Jacob Grimm to have heard that kindly scholar discourse about the ancient *Theuth* or *Thoth*, to whom the invention of letters was formerly ascribed." §

* As analogy has a value of its own, it may be mentioned that there is a parish named Tothill in Lincolnshire, in the Marsh division of the hundred of Calceworth, which is also considered to take its name from a round hill in the parish called Toote-hill. (See Gordon's and Lewis's Topograp. Dictionaries.) "The name of *Tot* is the old British word *Teut* (the German *Tulsio*), god of wayfarers and merchants—the third day of the week is still called after him. Sacred stones were set up on heights, hence called Tot-hills. 'To toot' in the north of England was a common phrase to express the observation of a watchman set upon a high station looking over a lower country."—Timb's *London and Westminster*.

† Thomas Turton, Dean 1842-5; Bishop of Ely; published *Text of the English Bible considered, &c*; died 1864.

§ See *Notes and Queries*, June 16, 1877.

Another derivation of the word was put forward by the late Mr. Bardwell, who, being aware of the fact that the Normans called the district *tout le champ*, fancied that it might have been clipped into *tout le*, and then corrupted into *toutle* and *Tot-hill*. This latter theory, in view of what has been previously said, must be regarded as somewhat far-fetched; but it affords the opportunity of leaving the question for matters of less dubiety.

It is strange to suppose that the Druids held their solemn rites and 'mystical ceremony' amidst the solitary wilds of Bulinga Fen, while

. "Ever overhead
Billow'd the tempest, and the rotten branch
Snapt in the rushing of the river-rain
Above them."

TENNYSON.

or that the deity of Tuesday was here worshipped by their Saxon invaders and conquerors. When the traditions are remembered that King Sebert (A.D. 616) pulled down a temple of Apollo on the site of the Abbey to make room for St. Augustine's monks; that King Lucius (A.D. 183) *first* founded a chapel here to St. Peter;* and that that Apostle himself, crossing the river near the site of the old horse ferry,† built a chapel or oratory here—it will be conceded that Tothill-fields are not by any means devoid of a traditionary history of their own.‡

* Ridgway, *Gem of Thorney Island*; Stanley's *Memorials*.

† See chapter XI.

‡ A writer in *Notes and Queries* asks "Whether there exists any well authenticated evidence of the discovery of Roman remains in Westminster? I say 'well authenticated,' for I have had in my possession for many years some Roman coins said to have been found towards the beginning of the present century in King-street, and I saw not very long since a fragment of Roman statuary said to have been dug up in Marsham-street." *N. & Q.*, 4th Series, Vol. v., March 5, '70. A Roman sarcophagus was found in Novr., 1869, in the Green under the north wall of the Abbey. It can be seen at the entrance to the Chapter House, left hand side. It was the tomb, as its inscription shows, of a Roman named Valerius Amandinus Marcellus, *superventor et marcellus patri*.

So much for the legends. Of the hill itself there is no longer any trace. Walcott thinks that it may have become lost in the gradual accumulation of soil upon the adjacent ground, and others suppose that the process of *making-up* the level which is always going on where there is a growing population, accounts for its disappearance. Dean Stanley states that it was levelled in the *seventeenth* century. This explanation, so far as it goes, is plausible enough, for, as will be seen as our sketch proceeds, the locality was resorted to for its gravel to so serious an extent that it led to a complaint being made to the Dean and Chapter, and to steps being taken to prevent it. But the hill certainly existed so lately as 1804, for we find that the Vestry of the parish* in that year, applied for, and obtained consent of the Dean and Chapter "to screen the rubbish on the hill in Tothill Fields," to be conveyed to the burial-ground in the Horseferry-road for raising the surface. The hill, which could not have been more than a mound, might have been removed in this way, and may therefore be said never to have left the parish.

The soil of the higher part of Tothill-fields was of a gravelly description, admirably adapted for the holding of justs and tourneys and judicial combats. Walcott describes the sub-soil as consisting "of a clear bright loam, lying beneath a rich mould, which extends to about a foot in depth, with short fine herbage, which was for centuries grazed on by numerous cattle." And there is ample evidence to show that the fields responded very kindly to the cares of patient husbandry. The Benedictine monks did not choose the site of the Abbey without some reason in this respect. The names of *Orchard-street*, *Pear-street*, and *Vine-street*, are reminiscent of the cultivation of fruit in Westminster.

At the time of the Norman Conquest new plantations of vineyards would appear to have been made in West-

* Vestry minutes, 28th February, 1804.

minster ;* although it must not be forgotten that the vine was cultivated in England long prior to the Battle of Senlac. Vines are mentioned in the laws of Alfred ; and Edward the Confessor, who bestowed so much care on his beloved Abbey, may well have anticipated the Norman.

Often did the Thames overflow the fields ; in the reign of Edward I. they were deeply under water. Undoubtedly the 'country-side' stretching along from the Abbey precincts to the Neat-houses and the Five Fields must have been very pleasant. Both Tothill-fields and the Five Fields had a repute for wild flowers. Watercress was gathered by the neighbours in the little streamlets or 'ditches' that traversed them. The herbalists and naturalists of olden time here collected their plants and herbs, either growing in the open meadows or along the banks of the river and ditches. The cuckoo-flower, Shakespeare's " lady's-smock," was once abundant by the water's side, and around the 'Duck' and other watery places grew the marsh-mallow, the moisture-loving spurge, the crimson-flowered willow herb, and many another wild plant—

" The yellow cowslip and the pale primrose."

MILTON.

were easily to be found—

" Young playmates of the rose and daffodil.

With fennel green and balm . . .

Savory, latter-mint, and columbines

Cool parsley, basil sweet and sunny thyme ;"

KEATS.

and very probably there flourished on the more heathy parts the hardy gorse and broom—the *planta genesta*—whose golden glory was the badge of the knightly Plantagenets.

In the time of the old herbalist, Culpeper,† these fields were famous for parsley. Strype speaks of the fields as noted "for supplying London and Westminster with asparagus, artichokes, cauliflowers, and musk melons, and the

* Timb's *Nooks and Corners*.

† Author of *Compleat Herbalist and Physical Directory*, 1649.

like useful things that the earth produces." In Howell's time, too, (1629) these fields were famous for melons. "I have sent you herewith," he writes to Sir Arthur Ingram, "a hamper of melons, the best I could find in any of Tothill-fields gardens.*"

In the churchwardens' accounts for 1651 we read: "Received of Bartholomew Bonyon for the grasse of the yard belonging to the pest-houses from Midsomer, 1651, to Michaelmas following xxs," and other evidence is afforded by these accounts that there was much excellent pasture in the fields in good seasons.

Here then, despite the sinister presence of the Pest-houses, the hay harvest was gathered in by the villagers, the tired mothers resting perchance at times to watch

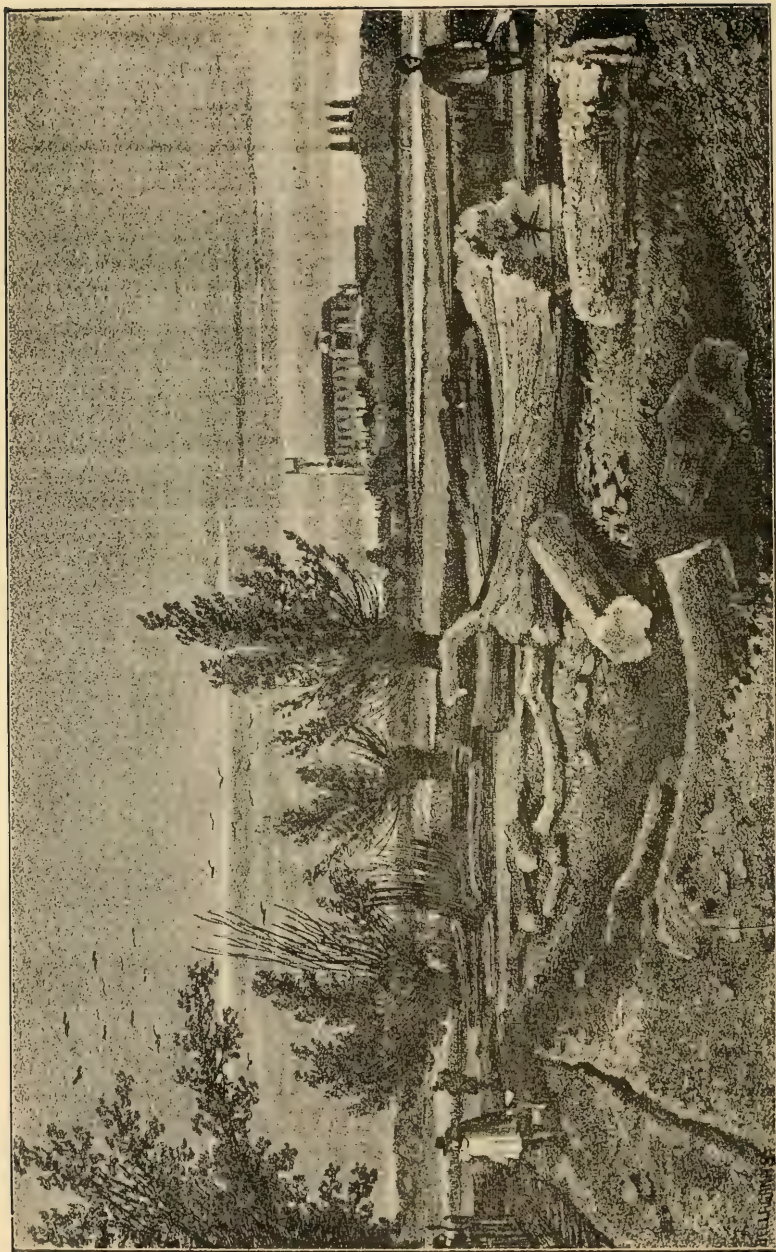
" Infant hands
Trail the long rake, or with the fragrant load
O'ercharged, amid the kind oppression roll."

THOMSON.

The open Tothill Fields existed as such with a group of lonely cottages standing in their midst till 1810, when the note of preparation for a different state of things was heard in the construction of an iron bridge at Vauxhall.

So lately as 1750 the farmers in the neighbourhood suffered much loss (so Walcott tells us) by the cow distemper Wallis, a citizen of London, left £6,000 for their relief. Mention has already been made (*see p. 8*) of the fact that Eldrich's nursery, which supplied the district with fruit and flowering shrubs, occupied the site of the present gas works. Evelyn notes, in his *Diary* of June 10, 1658, "I went to see ye Medical Garden at Westminster, well stored with plants, under Morgan, a very skilful botanist." Walcott asserts that snipe have been shot in the fields in the present century; a statement apparently corroborated by Lord Albemarle in his autobiography. Major Griffiths,

* *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaŋæ*, printed 1645-55.



Tothill Fields and St. John's, as seen from Millbank in 1808.

From a print in the Supplement to J. T. SMITH'S *Antiquities of Westminster*.

too, states that "people were alive only a few years ago who had shot snipe in the bogs and quagmires about this spot."*

A writer in *The Builder* says that in 1830 the Vauxhall-road was not entirely built upon, and bits of the hedge-row were still to be seen. Patches of greensward might as yet be observed beneath the litter of old iron which Andrew Mann so liberally spread over any plot of waste ground; whilst the site of the present South Belgravia remained open market-garden ground, intersected by bridle paths, for some ten years subsequently. The present Warwick-street, leading from Westminster towards Chelsea, occupies the precise site of the "Willow Walk." But all vestige of the rural nature of the locality must have disappeared soon after this date; and now, to slightly alter the words of the clever authors of *Rejected Addresses*—

Tothill Fields are fields no more
The trowel supersedes the plough,
And swamps all inundate of yore
Give place to bricks and mortar now.

J. Wykeham Archer, the painter and antiquary, in his *Vestiges of Old London* (1851) says that these fields were within three centuries part of a marshy tract of land lying between Millbank and Westminster Abbey, and on which stood a few scattered buildings, some of them the residence of noble persons.

Dean Stanley has called these fields "the 'Smithfield' of Western London—which witnessed the burnings of witches, tournaments, judicial combats, fairs, bear-gardens, and the interment of those who had been stricken by the plague." In one of its streams the ducks disported themselves, which gave their name to *Duck Lane*, now swept away by Victoria-street. Another formed part of the boundary between the parishes of St. Margaret and St. John, and a third, which had become known in 1826 as "the Tothill

* *Memorials of Millbank*, 1884, p. 23.

Fields open sewer," marked the limits on the south-western side of the area under the jurisdiction of the Tothill Fields Trust. A shaggy pool, deep enough to drown a horse, has gradually dwindled away into a small puddle and a vast sewer, now called the *King's Scholars' Pond* and the *King's Scholars' Pond Sewer*."

Perhaps the earliest mention of the locality occurs in Fabyan, who describes it in 1238 as "a field by Westmynster, lying at ye west end of ye church." "On account," says Walcott, "of its dry soil and size, wagers of battle were often decided here, and combats specially granted by princes, as well as those proceeding by ordinary award in law." These characteristics of the ground would naturally have made it

"A favourite spot for Tournament and War."

WORDSWORTH.

and for the holding of those Homeric contests of our forefathers—

"When ancient chivalry displayed
The pomp of her heroic games
And crested chiefs and tissued dames,
Assembled at the clarion's call."

WHARTON.

But it must not be forgotten that "the triumphant joustings and other military exercises," to which old Stow and other chroniclers make such frequent allusion, usually took place in the royal tilt-yard in Whitehall*; and it may be safely assumed that the outlying field of Tothill was only resorted to on occasions of more than ordinary grandeur. Hence we read that at the coronation (1220) of Eleanor—la Belle of Provence—consort of Henry III., the extraordinary magnificence of the rejoicings with which the beautiful queen was received, included "royal solemnities

* Now the parade ground of the Royal Horse Guards.

and goodly joustes" kept up for eight days in Tothill-fields. *

"From early the rising of the sonne,
Till spent the day was and yronne
In justing, dancing, and lustinesse,
And all that sownede † to gentilnesse."

CHAUCER.

The Rev. Mr. Ridgway states that on this occasion the worthy citizens, "in honest practical zeal, to do honour to their new queen, set about, in good earnest, the Herculean task of cleansing their streets from the mud and offensive filth which rendered them almost impassable." "Truly a strange sight must the wild marshy field have been, with the coarse turf spread with bright yellow sand ; the stout barriers, the galleries hung with silken canopies, awnings intermingled with green boughs and fragrant garlands, stooping down to shade the groups of fair maidens clustered beneath ; the steel-clad challengers seated firm as rocks upon their neighing steeds, awaiting the herald's blast and the shock in the glittering list ; the wavy plumes, the brodered mantle, the token-scarf, the parti-coloured tabard, brilliant as a flowery garden." It may well be supposed that during so honourable a week, and with such a Queen of Love and Beauty looking on, the hearts of Henry's young knights beat high at those solemn moments when—

"The heralds left their pricking up and down,
Now ringen trumpets loud and clarion.
There is no more to say but east and west,
In go the speares sadly in the rest,
In goth the sharp spur into the side,
There see men who can just and who can ride ;
There shiver shaftes upon shieldes thick,
He feeleth through the heart-spone the prick ;
Up springen speares, twenty feet in height,
Out go the swordes as the silver bright ;
The helms they to hewn and to shred :
Out burst the blood with stern streames red."

CHAUCER.

* See Mr. J. H. Jesse's *London*, 1871, Vol. I., p. 182.

† = *Belonged*.

Bright and gay, too, were these fields forty years later in the same reign, on the feast of the Decollation of St. John, when Stow tell us—"In the year of Christ, 1256, the fortieth of Henry III. John Mansell,* the king's counsellor and priest, did invite to a stately dinner the kings and queens of England and Scotland, Edward, the king's son, earls, barons, and knights, the Bishop of London, and divers citizens, whereby his guests did grow to such a number that his house at Totehill could not receive them, but that he was forced to set up tents and pavilions to receive his guests, whereof there was such a multitude that seven hundred messes of meat did not serve for the first dinner."

Tothill was the name of the manor in Westminster, possessed by this John Mansell.

Such were the scenes that Tothill Fields witnessed nearly seven hundred years ago, when Westminster was adorned with the palaces of princes and nobles, and glittered with the gorgeous pastimes of knighthood; when the friar in sober cowl walked the uneven pavement, and the knights rode with trumpets in gaudy colours to their tournaments in Whitehall or Smithfield or Tothill.

Where throngs of knights and barons bold
In weeds of peace high triumph hold,
With store of ladies, whose bright eyes
Rain influence and judge the prize.

MILTON.

Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis. The dingy streets and courts of modern Westminster have displaced these brilliant scenes; and where now rises "the busy hum of men"—the *funum et opes, strepitumque Romæ*—once resounded the stirring cries of 'Brave lance! Good sword!' and the herald's exhortations to 'Fight on, brave knights!' 'Man dies, but glory lives! Fight on—death is better than

* "John Mansell, King's counsellor and chaplain, monk of the Abbey, chancellor of St. Paul's, and prior of Beverley." *Walcott.*

‘defeat ! Fight on, brave knights !—for bright eyes behold your deeds !’

. “ But, now, for ever
Farewell the plumed troop, and the big wars
That make ambition virtue ! O farewell !
Farewell the neighing steed and the shrill trump,
The spirit-stirring drum, th’ ear piercing pipe,
The royal banner and all quality,
Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war !”

OTHELLO.

The proximity of these fields to the king’s law courts would naturally explain their use for carrying out the judge’s sentences, and for the settlement of trials by battle or by ordeal issuing out of the courts. Walcott informs us that necromancers were punished here and their instruments destroyed ; as in the reign of Edward III., when a man was taken “ practising with a dead man’s head, and brought to the bar at the King’s Bench, where, after abjuration of his art, his trinkets were taken from him, carried to Tothill, and burned before his face.” So in the time of Richard I., Raulf Wigtofte, chaplain to Geoffery, Archbishop of York, “ had provided a girdle and ring cunningly intoxicated, wherewith he meant to have destroyed Simon (the Dean of York) and others ; but his messenger was intercepted, and his girdle and ring burned at this place before the people.”

In 1441 “ was taken Margarie Gourdemaine, a witch of Eye, beside Westminster, whose sorcerie and witchcraft Dame Eleanor Cobham had long time used, and by her medicines and drinckes inforced the Duke of Gloucester to love hir, and after to wed hir ; wherefore, and for cause of relapse, the same witch was brent in Smithfield on the 27th October.”

This Margery Jourdain is introduced in Shakespeare’s play of *King Henry VI.*, part ii., sc. iv., where the ambitious duchess assists amid thunders and lightnings at the exorcism of a prophetic spirit—

Bolingbroke—Mother Jourdain, be you prostrate and grovel
on the earth :—

John Southwell, read you ; and let us to our work.”

The poor lady had her punishment too:—

“Ah ! Gloucester, teach me to forget myself !
 For, whilst I think I am thy married wife,
 And thou a prince, protector of this land,
 Methinks I should not thus be led along,
 Mail'd up in shame, with papers on my back,
 And followed with a rabble, that rejoice
 To see my tears, and hear my deepset groans.
 The ruthless flint doth cut my tender feet ;
 And when I start the envious people laugh,
 And bid me be advised how I tread.”

Hume, in his *History of England* makes an interesting view of the criminal law amongst the Saxons, of which trial by ordeal was the principal feature.* Trial by battle was an introduction of the Normans, some say of William the Conqueror himself. It was employed when issue was joined in a writ of right. The above-named historian, speaking of the law reforms of Henry II., states that that monarch “though sensible of the great absurdity attending the trial by duel or battle, did not venture to abolish it ; he only admitted either of the parties to challenge a trial by an assize of jury of twelve freeholders. This latter method of trial seems to have been very ancient in England and was fixed by the laws of King Alfred ; but the barbarous and violent genius of the age, had of late given more credit to the trial by battle, which had become the general method of deciding all important controversies. It was never abolished by law in England ; and there is an instance of it so late as the reign of Elizabeth.”† The most important provision, perhaps, of Magna Charta was that no free man should be imprisoned, outlawed, punished, or molested, except by the judgment of his equals or by the law of the land, *i.e.*, by the decision of a jury, by trial by battle, or by ordeal.

* *History of England.* Appendix to Vol. I.

† *Ibid*, chap. IX., vol. I.

Such barbarous justice, then, was frequently determined in Tothill-fields:—

"Also moreover in the same yere (1440-1) was a fightyng at the Tothil between too thefes, a pelour and a defendant, and the pelour hadde the feld and victory of the defendant withinne thre strokes."*

The combat would usually take place at sunrise, on a piece of ground sixty feet square, enclosed for the purpose, and in the presence of the Court of Common Pleas dressed in their scarlet robes. The weapons used were staves, with targets; the bodies of the champions were clad in armour, but their heads, arms and legs were bare. The battle might be continued till the stars appeared. If that was done the party in possession of the land was held entitled to retain it; if not, the court pronounced judgment in favour of the candidate whose champion was successful.†

Stow also gives a description with all his accustomed minuteness, of a challenge of this kind which took place in the Fields:—

"The 18th of June in Trinity Tearme (1571) there was a combat appointed to have been fought for a certain Manour and demaine lands belonging thereunto in the Isle of Harty, adioying to the Isle of Sheppey, in Kent: Simcon Low and John Kyme were Plaintifes, and had brought a writ of right against T. Paramore, who offered to defend his right by Battell, whereupon the Plaintifes aforesaid, accepted to answere his Challenge, offering likewise to defend their right to the said Manour and lands, and to prove by Battell that Paramore had no right nor no good title to have the same. Hereupon the said Thos. Paramore brought before the Judges of the Comon Pleas at Westminster, one George Thorne, a bigge, broad, strong set fellow: and the Plaintifes brought Hen. Nailor, Master of Defence, and seruant to the right honourable the Earle of Leicester, a proper slender man and not so tall as the other. Thorne cast downe a Gauntlet, which Nailor tooke up. Upon the Sonday before the battell should be tried, on the next morrow, the matter was stayed and the parties agreed, that Paramore being in possession, should haue the land, and was bound in 500 pound to consider the plaintifes, as upon hearing the Judges should award. The Q Maiesty was the taker up of the matter, on this wise. It was thought good, that for Paramore's assurance, the order should be kept

* *A Chronicle of London, 1089 to 1483*—An m.s. of the 15th century, printed under the superintendence of Sir Nicholas Harris Nicholas; 4to, 1827, p. 123.

† See Comyns, *Dig. tit. 'Trial'*; and Blackstone's *Commentaries*.

touching the combat, and that the plaintiffs Lowe and Kyme should make default of appearance, but that yet such as were sureties of Nailor their champions appearance, should bring him in, and likewise those that were sureties for Thorne, should bring in the same Thorne in discharge of their bond, and that the Court should sit in Tuthill-fields, where was prepared one plot of ground one and twenty yardis square, double railed for the combate, without the West square, a stage being set up for the Judges, representing the Court of the Common Pleas. All the compasse without the Lists, was set with scaffolds one aboue another, for people to stand and behold. There were behind the square where the Judges sate, two tents, the one for Nailor, the other for Thorne. Thorne was there in the morning timely. Nailor about seuen of the clocke came through London, apparelled in a doubtlet and gally-gascoigne breeches, all of crimson sattin cut and raised, a hat of black veluet, with a red feather and band, before him Drums and Fifes playing: the Gauntlet that was caste downe by George Thorne, was borne before the said Nailor upon a sword's point, and his Baston (a staffe of an ell long made taper-wise, tipt with horn) with his shield of hard leather, was borne after him, by Askam a yeoman of the Queen's gard: he came into the Pallace of Westminster, and staying not long before the Hall doore, came back into the King's streete, and so along through the Sanctuary and Tuthill streete, into the field, where he stayed till past nine of the clocke, and then Sir Jerome Bowes brought him to his tent, Thorne being in the tent with Sir Henry Cheiney long before. About ten of the clocke, the Court of Common Pleas remoued and came to the place prepared: when the Lord Chief Justice with two other his associates were set, when Low was called solemnly to come in, else hee to lose his writ of right. Then after a certaine time the sureties of Henry Nailor were called to bring in the said Nailor, champion for Simon Low, and shortly thereupon Sir Jerome Bowes leading Nailor by the hand, entreth with him the Lists, bringing him downe that square by which hee entred, being on the left hand of the Judges, and so about till hee came to the next square iust against the Judges, and there making a curtesie, first with one leg, and then with other, passed forth till he came to the middle of the place, and then made the like obeysance, and so passing till they came to the barrel there hee made the like curtesie, and his shield was held up aloft over his head: Nailor put off his neather stockes, and so bare-foote and bare-legged, saue his silke scamlonians to the ancles, and his dublet sleeues tyed up aboue the elbow, and bare headed, came in as is afore-said; then were the sureties of George Thorne, called to bring in the same Thorne, and immediately Sir Henry Cheiney entring at the upper end on the right hand of the Judges, used the like order in comming about by his side, as Nailor had before on that other side, and so comming to the barre with like obeysance, held up his shield, proclamation was made in form as followeth: The Justices commenced in the Quenes Maiesties name that no person of what estate, degree

or condition he be, being present, to be so hardy to give any token or signe, by countenance, speech or language, either to the proouer or to defender, whereby the one may take advantage of the other : and no person remooue, but still keepe his place : and that euery person and persons keepe their staves and their weapons to themselves : and suffer neither the said proouer nor defender to take any of their weapons or any other thing, that may stand either to the said proouer or defender any auail, upon pain of forfeiture of lands, tenements, goods, chattels and imprisonment of their bodies, and making fine and ransome at the Queene's pleasure. Then was the proouer to be sworne in forme as followeth : This heare you Justices, that I have this day neither eate, drunke, nor have upon me either bone, stone, nor glasse, or any inchantment, sorcerie, or witchcraft, where through the power of the Word of God might be inleased or diminished, and the deuils power encreased ; and that may appeale is true, so help me God and his saints and by this booke. After this solemne order was finished, the Lord Chiefe Justice rehearsing the manner of bringing the writ of right by Simon Low of the answere made thereunto by Paramore, of the proceeding therein, and how Paramore had chalenged to defend his right to the land by battell, by his champion George Thorne, and of the accepting the triall that was by Low, with his champion Henry Nailor, and then for default in appearance in Low, he adiudged the land to Paramore, and dismissed the champions, acquitting the sureties of their bonds. He also willed Henry Nailor to render againe to George Thorne his gauntlet, whereunto the said Nailor answered, that his Lordship might command him anything, but willingly he would not render the said gauntlet to Thorne except he would win it : and further he challenged the said Thorne to play with him halfe a score blowes, to shew some pastime to the Lord Chiefe Justice, and the others there assembled : but Thorne answered, that he came to fight, and would not play. Then the Lord Chiefe Justice commending Nailor for his valiant courage, commanded them both quietly to depart the field."

All such proceedings as these were abolished by 59 Geo. III., cap. 46, as were also appeals in criminal cases by the same enactment.

In connection with the insurrection in 1554 of Sir Thomas Wyatt to prevent the marriage of Queen Mary with Philip of Spain, we read in *Wriothesley's Chronicle* that, "Wyatt with his rebells came 'to the park pale' by St. James, about 2 of the clocke in the afternoone, and Knevett, one of his capteynes, with his rebells went by Towtehill, through Westminster, and shott at the Cowrt gates."

The holding of fairs in Tothill-fields owed its origin to

King Henry III., whose pious zeal for re-building the Abbey church induced him to resort to every artifice for raising money. After having heavily mulcted by compulsory loans the Jews and the wealthy London burghers, whom he hated—"those rustical Londoners, who call themselves *Barons*, on account of their wealth."—he had recourse to the establishment, in 1248, of a fair at St. Edward's Tide (13th October). It lasted fifteen days, and brought abundant funds into the coffers of the Abbey, for all shops were closed and all other fairs prohibited during that fortnight; and every article sold at the fair paid a tax to the abbot. Sturdy Raphael Holinshead chronicles that in the year 1248 "the King caused a faire to be kept at Westminster at Saint Edward's tide, to indure for fifteen daies, and to the end that the same should be the more haunted with all manner of people, he commanded by proclamation, that all other faires, as Elie, and such like holden in that season, should not be kept, nor that any wares should be shewed within the citie of London, either in shop or without, but that such as would sell, should come for that time unto Westminster; which was doone not without great trouble and paines to the citicens, which had not roome there, but in booths and tents, to their great disquieting and disease, for want of necessarie provision, being turmoiled too pitefullie in mire and dirt, through occasion of raine that fell in that unseasonable time of the yeare. The bishop of Elie complained sore of the wrong done to him by suspending his faire at Elie aforesaid."

Matthew of Westminster, too, evidently did not approve of this arbitrary conduct on the part of the king. "He did command that proclamation should be made by voice of herald through all the City of London, and in other parts, that he gave command to celebrate a new fair, to last for fifteen days, at the Monastery. All other fairs and all merchandise, in-door or out-of-door, under pain of loss and confiscation, he straitly forbade, so that the fair of West-

minster might be more fully furnished with company and wares. . . . But when they all set forth their merchandise to sell and had no houses but only booths, they were grievously annoyed with divers mishaps ; for many storms of winds broke in upon them, as is wont at that season ; and the merchantmen, shivering with cold, were wetted through, hungry and athirst."

Fox Bourne, in his *English Merchants*, also bears out that the weather experienced was of the very worst possible description. He says, "during the whole fortnight, however, the weather was bad, so that vast quantities of clothing and provisions were left to rot in the tents, through which the rain penetrated ; while the dealers themselves had to stay all day, waiting for customers who never came, with their feet in the mud, and the wind and rain beating against their faces"; from all of which it may be inferred that the worthy citizens of those days, with their flowing cloaks and long-toed boots, found Westminster fair by no means convenient ; for they were fain to redeem it with two thousand pounds of silver*—a result that may have been the impecunious king's intent from the outset.

St. Edward's fair was at first held in St. Margaret's churchyard until 34 Henry III. (1250),† when it was removed to Tothill-fields ; and in 1302 the Abbot was permitted to levy toll upon all traders who sold their wares at the time, even within the precincts of the palace.‡

Henry III. moreover, in 1256, granted his "Pattent to the Abbett of Westminster, giving him leave to keepe a markett in Tuthill every Munday, and a faire every yere for 3 dayes" at the time of the Festival of St. Mary Mag-

* Stow. Walcott omits the words "of silver."

† There is also a Charter of this date exhibited in the Chapter House, granting to the Abbey that the fair held on St. Edward's Day should have the same privileges as that of St. Giles-in-the-Hill, Winchester.

‡ Walcott's *Memorials*.

dalen. Edward I., by another Patent,* dated 11th May, 1298, extended the fair to thirty-two days to be held every year in Tuthill, but it fell into disuse soon afterwards.† It is said by Timbs that the Mayor and Corporation of London, by a bribe of £8,000, induced the abbot to yield up his privilege.‡ On the other hand, another writer declares the fair was in existence in 1819, but died away gradually, previously to the general suppression of fairs in 1840, and states that it was held in Rochester-row, near where the Church of St. Stephen now stands. Some very curious information concerning the Westminster fair, was given in an able article in the *Westminster and Pimlico News*, of October 20, 1888, by Mr. W. E. H. Oxley.

Evidence that the fair was flourishing in the early part of the present century is given in Lord Lennox's *Reminiscences*, wherein he narrates that when he was first at Westminster school he attended "the then celebrated booths of Scowton, Saunders, Richardson, and Gynge! at Tothill-fields fair."

It will accordingly be conceded that the good people of Westminster, from the earliest times, did not lack opportunity for purchasing their

"Rings, gauds, conceits,
Knacks, trifles, nosegays, sweetmeats ;"

or, as Autolycus sang—

"Lawn, as white as driven snow ;
Cyprus, black as e'er was crow ;
Gloves, as sweet as damask roses ;
Masks, for faces, and for noses ;
Bugle bracelet, necklace amber,
Perfume for a lady's chamber :
Golden quoifs, and stomachers,
For my lads to give their dears ;
Pins, and poking sticks of steel ;
What maids lack from head to heel."

WINTER'S TALE.

* These two Patents, with the Great Seals attached, may be seen at the Town Hall.

† *Old Showmen and London Fairs*, T. Frost.

‡ Timbs' *London and Westminster*.

Perhaps the succession may be traced in the weekly pandemonium in Strutton-ground and the vicinity ; or, better still—for fairs were once an institution to which flocked high-born dame and servant-maid alike—in the huge emporium of the Army and Navy Stores, whose contents exceed in multitudinous variety even Autolycus' pack itself.

Tothill-fields, before the Statute of Restraints (21 James I., c. 28), was considered to be—so Walcott states—within the limits of the Sanctuary of the Abbey.

Stow tells us that the Abbey “had great privilege of Sanctuary within the precinct thereof . . . which privilege was first granted by Sebert, king of the East Saxons, since extended by Edgar, king of the West Saxons, renewed and confirmed by King Edward the Confessor,” whose charter offered to any person flying thither for any cause “all maner freedom of joyous libertie ; and whosoever presumes or doth contrary to this my graunt, I will hee lose his name, worship, dignity, and power, and that with the great traytor Judas that betrayed our Saviour, he be in the everlasting fire of hell.”

Whether the statement of Mr. Walcott is correct would seem to be somewhat doubtful ; but there can be no manner of doubt that these “unhappy privileges,”—to use Dean Stanley's apt phrase—had their evil effect upon the neighbourhood. “The right of asylum rendered the whole precinct a vast ‘cave of Adullam’ for all the distressed and discontented of the metropolis who desired, according to the phrase of the time, ‘to take Westminster.’” This privilege of sanctuary, Widmore* observes, “had caused the houses within the district to let well” ; and it moreover encouraged a colony of thieves and vagabonds, who naturally appreciated the advantage of this ‘City of Refuge,’ to grow up around the Abbey. This part of Westminster became, in consequence, the resort of all that was low and

* R. Widmore, *History of the Church of St. Peter.*

disreputable. The Fields in the days of James I. were "the abode of bull-baiters, ragamuffins, beggars and thieves,"* and their bad reputation did not disappear until very recently. The statement published in 1850 by "the Lay Bishop of Westminster," Sir William Page Wood (after-Lord Hatherley) affords striking evidence that the evil associations of the sanctuary rights lingered in Westminster long after their suppression by King James.

The Fields were naturally resorted to by the lower orders for their pastimes and amusements, and early in the eighteenth century—"England's meanest period," as Lamb has stigmatised it,—was famous for bull-baiting, bear-baiting, cock-fighting and cock-throwing, dog-fighting, prize-fighting, and such like 'sports' and diversions so much beloved of our gentle forefathers. But we are not surprised at their depraved tastes when we remember that the Royal Cock-pit stood at the top of Queen-street, Birdcage-walk. The steps leading down from opposite Dartmouth-street to the park are still known to old residents in Westminster as Cockpit Stairs.† Evelyn in his *Diary* of the 16th June, 1670, writes:—"I went with some friends to y^e Bear-garden, where was cock-fighting, dog-fighting, beare and bull-baiting, it being a famous day for all these butcherly sports or rather barbarous cruelties. The bulls did exceedingly well, but the Irish wolfe-dog exceeded, which was a tall greyhound, a stately creature indeed, who beate a cruell mastiff. One of the bulls toss'd a dog full into a lady's

* *The Streets of London*, by J. T. Smith ; edited by Charles Mackay, LL.D., 1861, p. 55.

† Mr. Harland Oxley in *The West London Press* of May 22, 1886, cites Timbs' *London and Westminster* and *Romance of London*, in stating that this pit, though only taken down in 1816, had been disused long before, and then proceeds to make some very just remarks with regard to that author—"Where he got this information from I cannot say, but this we do know that he was one of the most laborious and painstaking of recent antiquaries, and verified all his information, so that those who follow may not have any very great trouble upon this point ; of course his information may have been obtained from *A new Guide to London*."

lap, as she sate in one of ye boxes, a considerable height from the arena. Two poore dogs were kill'd and so all ended with the ape on horseback, and I most heartily weary of the rude and dirty pastime, which I had not seen, I think, in twenty years before." Elsewhere the same author writes:—

17th August, 1667.—There was now a very gallant horse to be baited to death with doggs ; but he fought them all, so as the fiercest of them could not fasten on him, till they run him through with their swords. This wicked and barbarous sport deserved to have been punish'd in the cruel contrivers to get mony, under pretence that the horse had kill'd a man which was false. I would not be persuaded to be a spectator.

In the reign of Queen Anne (1703) a famous bear-garden existed in Tothill-fields upon part of the site of Vincent-square, and the newspapers of the period contain some curious advertisements of the proprietor's enterprise, of which the following is a specimen :—

"At William Well's Bear Garden in Tuttle Fields, this present Monday, the 10th of April [1703], will be a *green* bull baited, and twenty doggs fight for a collar, and that dogg that runs farthest and fairest wins the collar ; with other diversions of bull-baiting and bear-baiting. Beginning at two of the clock."

Notwithstanding the brutishness of the sport, the spirit of "fair-play," which is considered to be so strong a characteristic of the English, is exemplified in the couplets of Butler on the next page. "Fair play's a jewel," and even Bruin had his "law," for proclamation used to be made at all bull and bear baitings by the steward, warning the spectators not to come within forty feet of the animal, at their peril. That such warning was not without good reason, is aptly shown by the following note in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of so late a date as 1806* :—

Tuesday, May 27th, 1806.—This day at a bear-baiting in Tothill-fields, one of the bears, having broke loose, fastened upon a person of the name of Shawe, whom he tore very much with his paws, and would have destroyed him, but for the assistance of the people.

* Vol. lxxvi, p. 473.

The customs observed at these brutal exhibitions did not escape the notice of Butler, who thus refers to them in his *Hudibras* :—

People did repair
 On days of market, or of fair,
 And to crack'd fiddle, and hoarse tabor,
 In merriment did drudge and labour ;
 But now in sport more formidable
 Had raked together village rabble :
 'Twas an old way of recreating,
 Which learned butchers call bear-baiting ;
 A bold advent'rous exercise,
 With Ancient heroes in high prize ;
 For authors do affirm it came
 From Isthmian or Nemean game ;
 Others derive it from the bear
 That's fixed in northern hemisphere,
 And round about the pole does make
 A circle, like a bear at stake,
 That at the chain's end wheels about,
 And overturns the rabble rout.
 For, *after solemn proclamation*,
 In the bear's name, as is the fashion,
 According to the law of arms,
 To keep men from inglorious harms,
That none presume to come so near
As forty feet of stake of bear ;
 If any yet be so fool-hardy,
 T' expose themselves to vain jeopardy,
 If they come wounded off, and lame,
 No honour's got from such a maim,
 Altho' the bear going much, b'ing bound
 In honour to make good his ground,
 When he's engag'd, and take no notice,
 If any press upon him, who 'tis,
 But lets them know, at their own cost,
 That he intends to keep his post.

A writer in *The Builder* tells us that down to so recent a period as 1819-20, the barbarous sport of bull and bear baiting occasionally took place here. There was also a cock-pit in Tufton-street (described in chapter XIII.) which was perhaps the last of these abominations in London.

Sir Richard Steele in the *Tatler*, 1709, says "I have heard that there was a race-course here, as well as a building Bridewell, and bear-garden." Timbs, in his *London and*

Westminster, briefly says "We hear, too, of Tuttle Fields horse-races."

In Tothill-fields 'came off' many a 'mill'—not between Westminster scholars as some have supposed; for their encounters, Lord Albemarle tells us, always took place in the 'Fighting Green,' in the cloisters—but between professional gentlemen of the "P. R.," and sometimes between the Westminster boys and "the Scies."

When Lord Albemarle boarded at "Mother Grant's," the Westminsters, as they do now, went "up Fields" to play cricket; but then "Fields" were only separated from the rest of the open by a dry ditch. There was, he also relates, in the north-west corner, opposite the rear of the present police-court, the Duck, afterwards known as the King's Scholars'-pond.

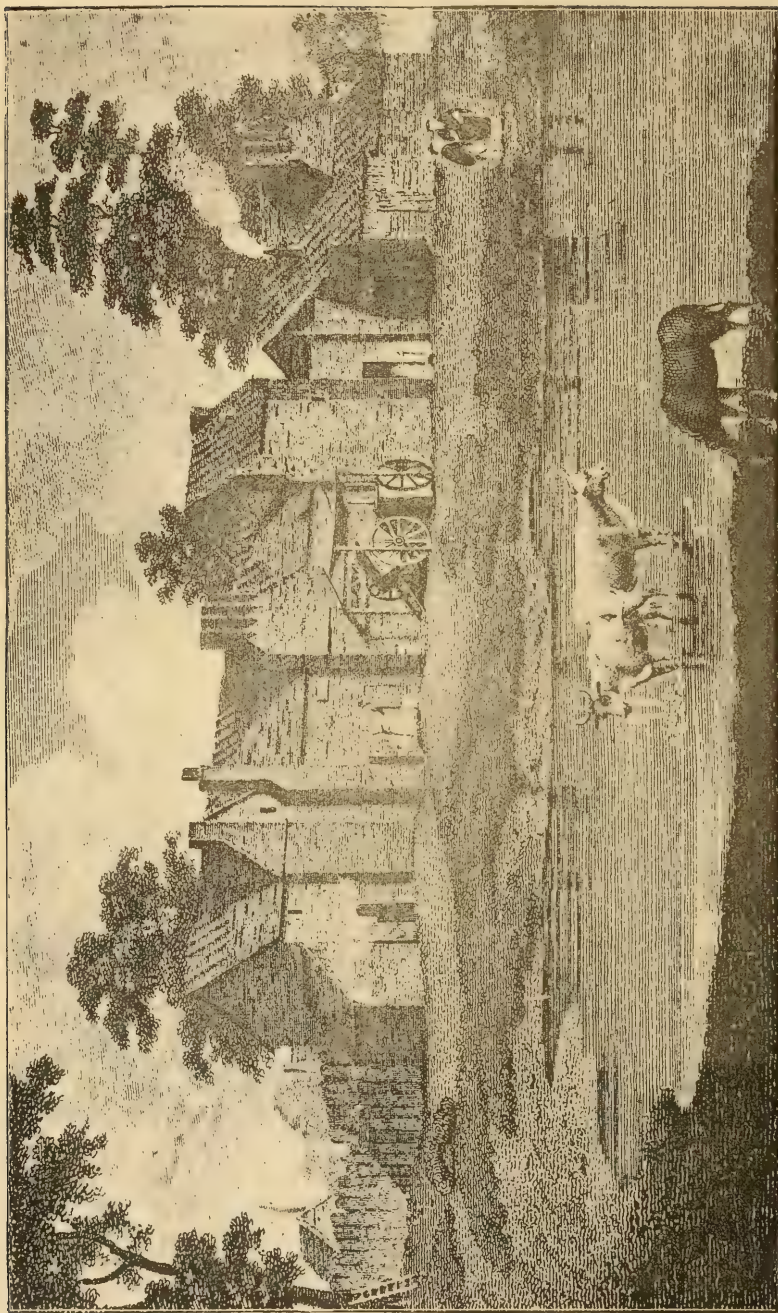
Richard Bingham, who was at the head of those elected to Oxford in 1786, and afterwards served under Sir J. Pulteney and Sir Ralph Abercromby, was celebrated at school for a great jump he made over a ditch in Tothill-fields, afterwards called 'Bingham's leap.' At Easter and Whitsuntide, Gooseberry fair was held "up Fields."

Two Westminster worthies who had much to do with the 'genius of the place,' albeit their reputé was not by any means above reproach, were Caleb Baldwin and William Hebbfield, or "Slender Billy," both of the "Five Houses" in Tothill-fields. So interesting is the history of the latter, that the following extracts, although long, will be pardoned by appreciative Westmonasterians. The first is from Lord Albemarle's *Fifty Years of my Life*,* which so delighted Mr. W. J. Thoms, the antiquarian.† George Keppel, afterwards Earl of Albemarle, who was a school-boy at Westminster School in the years 1810-5, recalls amongst his reminiscences:—

"Between Mother Hubbard's and the Willow Walk was a nest of low buildings known by the name of the 'Seven Chimneys.' The

* *Fifty Years of my Life*, by George Thomas, Earl of Albemarle, 1876, Vol. I., p. 323.

† See *Notes and Queries*, June 16, 1877.



View of the Pest Houses, Tothill Fields, 1796.

From a drawing in the Crace collection at the British Museum.

inhabitants were of a somewhat questionable character, and certainly not of that class with whom ladies would wish their darling boys to associate. Here lived Caleb Baldwin, the bull-baiter; a man who enjoyed a widespread fame for one particular feat. Whenever his dog was tossed by a bull, Caleb would break its fall by rushing in and catching it in his arms. . . . Bull-baiting was an 'institution' in the early part of this century. Like prize-fighting, it had its advocates among members of both Houses of Parliament. . . . Of all the indwellers of the 'Seven Chimneys' the prime favourite of us Westminsterers was one William Heberfield, better known by the name of 'Slender Billy'; a good-humoured, amusing fellow, but whose moral character, as the sequel will show, would not bear a searching investigation. All we knew of him was that whenever we wanted a dog to hunt a duck, draw a badger, or pin a bull, Billy was sure to find us one, no matter how minute we might be in the description of the animal required.

In the year 1811 Heberfield was no longer an inmate of the 'Seven Chimneys.' He was undergoing his sentence in Newgate for having aided the escape of a French General, a prisoner of war on *parole*.

It was just at this time that the Bank of England, having suffered heavy losses from forgeries, resolved to make an example. William Heberfield was fixed upon by them for that example.

The solicitors of the Bank accordingly took into their pay a confederate of Heberfield's of the name of Barry, who was undergoing two years' imprisonment in Clerkenwell House of Correction, for uttering base coin. Through this man's agency, Heberfield, who would turn his hand to anything, was easily inveigled into passing forged notes provided by the solicitors of the Bank themselves. On the evidence of Barry, Heberfield was found guilty and sentenced to death. Great exertions were made in the House of Lords to avert the execution of the sentence on account of the cruel conspiracy, of which the unhappy man had been the victim. All was of no avail. Heberfield was hanged at Newgate for forgery on the 12th of January, 1812.'

The second extract, which is equally piquant, is abridged from *The News*, of February 2, 1812.—

On Wednesday morning *Edward Phillips* for setting fire to his house in Ratcliffe-highway; *W. Habberfield*, alias *Slender Billy*, for selling Bank notes in Newgate, while in confinement for aiding French prisoners in their escape; *P. Whitehead*, for forgery on the banking-house of Robarts, Curtis, and Co.; and *J. Fraser*, *E. Hall*, alias *Campbell* and *W. Higgins*, alias *Fowler*, for burglaries:—were executed pursuant to their sentences. The unhappy men seemed prepared to meet their fate with decent fortitude. Each shook hands with the other next to him; and they were soon after launched out of this world. The crowd which assembled to witness this warning spectacle was immense.

Of these culprits, none had excited so much public conversation as *Habbersfield*, alias *Slender Billy*. He had been known on the town for many years by half the population, particularly in Westminster. From the figure he made in the gymnastic circles, and, also, as having been a manager of badger-baitings, dog fights, &c., *Billy's cabin* (*a*), in the centre of the Willow-walk, Tothill-fields, was a menagerie for beasts of almost every description, and also a convenient *fencing* repository, from the Lady's *tyke* (*b*) to the Nobleman's *wedge* (*c*). Habberfield, from the figure he cut in his managerial character, with the *buffer* (*d*), or badger-ring, was much countenanced by many gentlemen in the *fancy* (*e*), and particularly by the Westminster Collegians, who could have a fund of amusement, at all times, in the Willow-walk. But Billy's connection amongst robbers of every description, exceeded by far the patronage bestowed on him by the higher orders in the *bull ring*. He always bore the reputation of a man of strict probity in his nefarious dealings, and was considered the safest *fence* about town, as his dwelling was suitable to concealment, and garrisoned by *buffers*, so as to render it impregnable to a sudden attack. Billy was himself a workman too, and accounted as good a *cracksman* (*f*) or *peter-man* (*g*) as any in the ring, and as *close* as *mid-night*. He dealt largely in dogs and horses, and several anecdotes are related of his often bargaining for the purchase of each, and, on refusal, informing the owners that he must *have them* for nothing, if he could not buy them, and which promise he repeatedly carried into execution. He was a *knacker* (*h*) too, and it was a favourite expression of his, that he had stolen many a worn-out horse, rather out of charity to its carcase than the value of his flesh. He had been known for forty years to the Police, as a *cross* (*i*) *cove*, technically termed, but had always escaped until his release of General Austin, and other French prisoners, when he was impeached by his *pal*, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment in Newgate, where he sold forged notes to a plant (*k*), and which led to his untimely end. He was, as before observed, accounted a man of strict punctuality and integrity, in *his honest* dealings, and had saved, it is supposed, some thousand pounds by his nefarious practices.

(*a*) Place where stolen goods are concealed. (*g*) Cutting away of luggage from vehicles.

(*b*) Lap-dog.

(*h*) A purchaser of worn-out horses.

(*c*) Plate.

(*i*) A person who lives by unfair practices.

(*d*) A bull-dog.

(*e*) Admirers of bull-baiting, fighting, &c.

(*k*) A person sent for the purpose of detecting him.

(*f*) House-breaker.

It is pretty generally suspected amongst his confidential friends, that he was the *fence*, after the ingenious *removal*, two or three years ago, of the plate from the Cathedral of St. Paul's. He was likewise suspected of being an *extensive gin-spinner* (n), without the knowledge of the Board of Excise. It was *Billy's* boast, that he had not for many years worn a single article of dress that had not been stolen. He had left a widow and two daughters, one of whom is married.

In his delightful *Recreations of a Sportsman*, Lord William Lennox, another old Westminster boy, observes:—

It is a fact, and a most melancholy one, that all sports are more or less cruel, and many perhaps quite as objectionable in that respect as cock-fighting. Yet the practice of putting on artificial spurs, and the knowledge that the conquerors seldom are allowed to live to enjoy their triumph, make this once popular pastime repugnant to the humane feelings of a large mass of the people. Bull-baiting too, which in our "salad days," when, as the Queen of Egypt says, "we were green in judgment," we well recollect being carried on in Tothill Fields, and at many a suburban and country fair, has fallen into disuse, and the Society for the Suppression of Cruelty to Animals would soon pounce down upon any costermonger who was daring enough to indulge in this bovine barbarity. Another equally inhuman sport, that of bear-baiting, has long ceased to be indulged in; and the "Pit" in Westminster famous, or rather infamous, in bygone days, when "Slender Billy" reigned supreme in Duck-lane, has ceased to exist; and splendid mansions, capacious hotels, extensive warehouses, handsome streets, now occupy the site of the lowest, dirtiest, and most filthy alleys, courts, and lanes; while powered footmen, smart waiters, dapper shop boys, and aristocratic dames tenant the district formerly the resort of dog-fighters, pigeon-fanciers, housebreakers, pickpockets, coiners, horse-chaunters, and the lowest and most degraded of the prize-fighting community.

The author of *Westminster School, Past and Present*, refers to the same writer's description of his first shooting expedition over Tothill-fields:—

Richard Hubbert, game-keeper and purveyor of guns and ammunition to the boys, appears to have been a character compounded of the poacher, receiver of stolen goods, and forger. He gave, on this occasion, two guns to the two lads, Erskine* and Lennox. These guns bore the respective names of "Tearback" and "Scratcher," titles certainly calculated, and no doubt intended, to animate the sportsmen with confident hopes, but dreadful enough to make both ducks and snipe forswear for ever the neighbourhood of Richard Hubbert's dwelling; as, indeed, they seem to have done about this time, and to have returned no more. Though assured by Hubbert that it was just

(n) Distiller.

* Afterwards Earl of Mar,

the morning for snipe, the boys returned without having obtained a single shot ; but the day could not end so. Therefore they contracted for five shots a-piece at elevenpence a shot, the mark to be the ducks on the duck-pond. The killed were to be the property of the shooter. Lennox was successful enough to kill three ducks, and what was better, to make such a favourable impression on his sporting master, as materially to affect his subsequent comfort as a fag. William Hubberfield was another hero inhabiting the Willow Walk. . . . The man was hanged for having forged notes in his possession, and Mrs. Hubberfield, in a few weeks, married the Bow-street Runner who captured him.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* of the 7th October, 1833, records the death, "in a wretched hovel, at a place called the Five Chimneys, near the Vauxhall-bridge-road, aged 58, Mr. John Bickerton, an eccentric character, formerly well known in the University of Oxford." The magazine gives a diffusive account of the eccentricities of this poor fellow, who usually called himself "Counsellor Bickerton, Esq." The son of a Flintshire farmer, he entered St. Edmund Hall at Oxford as a commoner in July, 1793, and continued there for several terms, but never took a degree. Being refused the papers necessary for his entering into holy orders, he left the University and wandered about the country. He never walked in the streets without an umbrella, and always attended at the Oxford Assizes wearing a counsellor's wig.

"At one time he purchased a chariot at an auction, removed the pole, and contrived to make it a one-horse carriage. He purchased a horse also, and engaged in his service a youth well-known in Oxford, who was sent *over the seas* a few years since. Bickerton fitted up his carriage with cooking apparatus, and when the judges left Oxford he, dressed in his wig and gown, and accompanied by his man, followed them on the circuit. But his travelling the circuit was soon terminated, for the first time that he appeared in a court where he was unknown (it is believed at Gloucester), he was taken into custody, and afterwards sent from the place. During his journey he regularly cooked

his victuals on the road side, and slept in his carriage." It is also said of him that during a cold winter, Bickerton being in want of fuel, contrived to procure it by climbing into a tree that was in the quadrangle of Hertford College, and having seated himself upon one of the branches, actually sawed the branch off between himself and the trunk, in consequence of which he fell to the ground and was much hurt. When ejected from Hertford, he purchased a small boat, and for some time lived upon the Isis.

At the inquest on his body, one of the witnesses gave the following account of his London life:—

"Daniel Friend, of Green Hart-yard, Hatton-garden, said that he knew the deceased. He was complete master of five or six languages, and perfectly conversant with the Hebrew. He formerly kept a school in Wych-street, Strand. He bought the Five Chimneys property about six years ago, for which he paid 380*l*. He had also one or two houses in Edward-street. A Mr. Dance, a broker, lived in one of them. Some time ago the deceased seized upon Mr. Dance for rent, who replevied, and threw the deceased into Whitecross-street prison. Witness saw the deceased last Friday. He was then knocking up some old tin saucepans, and picking the wire out to sell for old iron. He went out with the wire, and brought home a salt herring and a pound of potatoes. He also bought a bottle containing some vitriol and water, which he took for his complaint. He always complained of being ill-used by Mr. Dance."

On that part of this testimony which relates to Bickerton's imputed skill in languages, the *Oxford Herald* remarked that:—

"Although once a member of this University, he had very little knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, was totally ignorant of Hebrew, and knew no modern language whatever except his own."

The hovel in which Bickerton died was an unfinished building. It comprised three rooms, but had no windows nor doors, and the lower room was still unfloored and scattered with broken bricks and mortar. Besides a chair which had been lent by a neighbour towards his last moments, there was no furniture. "The only articles found in the place" says a London paper, which was ignorant of his history, "were a barrister's old gown and wig. So he had

parted with every other comfort ; but emblems of that honourable rank, of which he imagined himself the possessor, he would not relinquish, except with life itself. He was generally known as the old miser."

The jury accordingly returned as their verdict, that he "died from the want of the common necessities of life."

It is difficult to believe that among forty others the famous *Letters of Junius* were actually attributed to this eccentric individual.* The *Oxford Spy*, 1818 (p. 24) states that Bickerton kept a horse at Hertford College, which was sometimes seen looking out of a window on the second floor. Here we bid adieu to "Councillor Bickerton, Esq."

The *Gentlemen's Magazine* of the 31st October, 1796, has the following note :—

"In Tothill-fields—Clarke, a notorious character. A few hours previous to his exit, he acknowledged having been guilty of four different murders ; and that he was concerned in the murder of Mrs. Sawyer, the barge-builder's wife, at Lambeth, for the discovery of which a considerable reward was offered by Government."

But enough, perhaps, of "shady characters." Let us end the chapter by a notice of a Westminster worthy of quite another stamp.

On the 31st May, 1793, William Collins, "whose works as an artist have long been known and admired in this country,"† died at his house in Tothill-fields. This local artist, of whom Timbs speaks as a famous modeller in clay and wax, and carver in wood, was the inseparable friend of Gainsborough, and these two artists must have been at home amid the Tothill-fields' sports.‡ Mr. J. T. Smith, the learned biographer of *Nollekens and his Times*, writes of him :—

"Gainsborough's friend, Collins, of Tothill-fields, was indeed the most famous modeller of chimney tablets of his day, but his figures

* See Cushing's *Dictionary of Initials and Pseudonyms*, and also *Notes and Queries*, 1st series, xi., p. 370.

† *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. XLIII., p. 576.

‡ *London and Westminster*, Vol. I., p. 148.

were mostly clothed, and exhibited pastoral scenes, which were understood by the most common observer; such, for instance, as a shepherd's boy eating his dinner under an old stump of a tree, with his dog begging before him; shepherds and shepherdesses seated upon a bank, surrounded by their flocks, &c."

The same entertaining author in another work—*A Book for a Rainy Day*—remarks further that many of Collins' subjects were taken from *Æsop's Fables* for tablets of chimney-pieces then in vogue (about 1790), and adds that they were here and there to be met with in houses that had been suffered to remain in their original state. "I recollect one, that of the 'Bear and Bee-hives' in the back drawing-room of the house formerly the mansion of the Duke of Ancaster on the western side of Lincoln's Inn Fields."



CHAPTER X.

TOTHILL FIELDS (*continued*).

"Dieu de Batailles ! where have they this mettle?
Is not their climate foggy, raw, and dull?
On whom, as in despite, the sun looks pale,
Killing their fruits with frowns?"

KING HENRY V.

"Here Tothill Fields for ever radiant smile;
Graced are the streets by many a lordly pile;
Here silver Thames rolls on his lucid tide,
On his calm breast boats up or downward glide."*

"Nature held counsel with herself and said, 'My Romans are gone. To build my new empire, I will choose a rude race, all masculine, with brutish strength. I will not grudge a competition of the roughest males. Let buffalo gore buffalo, and the pasture to the strongest!'"—EMERSON.

Our City's *Campus Martius*.—"Merrie Westminster."—The Toxophilite Art.—The Butts of a loyal and patriotic parish.—Latimer on 'Exercise.'—Royal shots.—King James' "Book of Sports."—Locke.—The Parish Armoury.—The Armed Association.—The Extending Use of Gunpowder.—The Trained Bands.—The Great Rebellion.—The fort and rampart.—The Scotch prisoners.—The Plague and the pest-houses.—The "Five Houses" or "Seven Chimneys."—The Maze.—Rural Charms.—A play-ground of boys who were to be famous.—A strange adventure.—Disputed claims to the Fields.—Enclosure of Vincent-square.—The Duck.—Sport.—George IV. in Tothill Fields.—Tothill Fields Trust.

AS Rome possessed its *Campus Martius* without the city walls, where the Roman youths performed their exercises and learned to wrestle and box, to throw the discus, hurl the javelin, and drive a chariot, so the youth of Westminster could boast for centuries of their Tothill-fields. The fields were not only used on great occasions by the nobles of the neighbouring Court for their justs and tournaments, but they were resorted to as an exercise ground or

* Latin Epilogue by Jas. Mure, Esq., spoken at the Westminster Play in 1860; translated by Mr. F. H. Forshall.

playing field throughout the year by the yeoman class. Here, then, were held competitions in wrestling, running at the quintain, quarter-staff, and other games of skill practised by our ancestors, amongst which by far the most important was shooting with the long-bow or cross-bow. In point of fact the practice of archery or 'shooting' as it was called, was made compulsory upon every Englishman from very early times. Edward II., Edward III., Richard II. and Edward IV. all issued strict ordinances for the observance of the art. The last-named monarch in the fifth year of his reign commanded every man in England to have a long-bow of his own height, and ordered butts to be set up in every township, at which the inhabitants were to shoot 'up and down' upon all feast days, under the penalty of one half-penny—not an inconsiderable sum in those days—for every time they omitted to perform their exercise.

In the fourteenth century London was "merry London," the metropolis of "merry England." The word, as Leigh Hunt has pointed out, did not imply exclusively what it does now—it meant the best condition in which anything could be found, with cheerfulness for the result. Gallant soldiers were "merry men." Favourable weather was "merry." And the pleasant village of Westminster, the favourite place of residence of the Plantagenet kings and princes, was "merry." Under the very eyes of the courtiers and nobility of that splendid dynasty, the youth of Westminster were not behindhand in their military exercises, when, as Macaulay says, "every yeoman from Kent to Northumberland valued himself as one of a race born for victory and dominion, and looked down with scorn on the nation before which his ancestors had trembled." Why should they not be "merry," living in the very atmosphere of so stately and puissant a court, when England's greatness was awakening, and France was trembling?

"They had sports infinite up to the time of the Commonwealth—races, and wrestlings, archery, quoits, tennis, foot-

ball, hurling, &c. Their May-day was worthy of the burst of the season ; not a man was left behind out of the fields if he could help it ; their apprentices piqued themselves on their stout arms, and not on their milliners' faces ; their nobility shook off the gout in tilts and tournaments ; their Christmas closed the year with a joviality which brought the very trees indoors to crown their cups with, and which promised admirably for the year that was to come. In everything they did there was a reference to Nature and her works, as if nothing should make them forget her ; and a gallant recognition of the duties of health and strength as the foundation of their very right to be fathers."*

In Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes* we read that in the reign of Henry VIII., three several Acts were passed for promoting the practice of shooting with the long-bow ; one prohibited the use of cross-bows and hand-guns ; another was occasioned by a complaint from the bowyers, fletchers, stringers, and arrow-head makers, stating that many unlawful games were practised in the open fields to the detriment of the public morals and to the great decay of archery ; and the third obliged every man, being the King's subject, to exercise himself in shooting with the long-bow, and also to keep a bow with arrows continually in his house. Latimer, in one of his sermons preached before King Edward VI., published in 1549, enforced the practice of archery from the pulpit. "Men of England in times past," he says, "when they would exercise themselves (for we must needs have some recreation, our bodies cannot endure without some exercise), they were wont to go abroad in the fields of shooting The art of shooting hath been in times past much esteemed in this realm ; it is a gift of God that He hath given us to excel all other nations withal ; it hath been God's instrument whereby He hath given us many victories against our enemies. A wondrous thing, that so excellent a gift of

* *The Town*, by Leigh Hunt, Vol. I.

God should be so little esteemed! I desire, my lords, even as ye love the honour and glory of God, and intend to remove His indignation, let there be sent forth some proclamation, some sharp proclamation to the Justices of peace; for they do not their duty. Justices now be no Justices; there be many good acts made for this matter already. In my time my poor father was as diligent to teach me to shoot, as to learn me any other thing, and so I think other men did their children. He taught me how to draw, how to lay my body in my bow, and not to draw with strength of arms as other nations do, but with strength of the body. I had my bows bought me according to my age and strength; as I increased in them, so my bows were made bigger and bigger: for men shall never shoot well except they be brought up in it. It is a godly art, a wholesome kind of exercise, and much commended in physic."

Holinshed records that Henry VIII. shot as well as any of his guards; Edward VI. was fond of the exercise; and there seems every reason to believe that it was practised by King Charles the First, for that monarch issued a proclamation in the eighth year of his reign, to prevent the fields near London "being so enclosed as to interrupt the necessary and profitable exercise of shooting."*

A writer in *Notes and Queries* of Aug. 6, 1892, assures us that there is abundant proof that the cloth-yard shaft of the chronicles and the ballad was no myth. The Italian traveller, Paulus Jovius,† was an eye-witness of our archery in the middle of the sixteenth century. He says that the English shot arrows "somewhat thicker than a man's little finger, two cubits (36 inches) long, and headed with barbed

* See Ascham's *Toxophilus*, 1545; Markham's *Art of Archery*, 1634; Wood's *Bowman's Glory*, 1682; *Ayme for Finsbury Archers*, 1628; *Ayme for the Archers of St. George's Fields*, 1664.

† Paolo Giovio, 1483—1552; historian, physician, prior, bishop of Nocera, wrote *Elogia Virorum Illustrum*.

steel points, from wooden bows of extraordinary size and strength."

The grave John Locke, in one of his private journals (1679), records "bowling at Marbone and Putney by persons of quality; wrestling in Lincoln's Inn Fields on summer evenings; bear and bull baiting at the Bear Garden; shooting in the long-bow and stob-ball in Tothill Fields."

Mr. Mackenzie Walcott, writing in *Notes and Queries* of 17th January, 1857, tells us that "colleges and parish churches possessed their armouries," and the Westminster parishes were emphatically no exception to the patriotic custom. "Upon the spot now occupied by Artillery-place, the men of Westminster used to practise at 'the Butts' which were provided by the parish in obedience to an ordinance of Queen Elizabeth."* These butts are stated to have been removed about the time of the battle of Waterloo, or just before that date.†

In 1548 the vestry of St. Margaret's paid a Mr. Lentall:—

For making clean 11 pair of harness, 9 daggers, and	
8 bills, price every harness 1s. 4d.	14s.

In 1562 the Church possessed "a streamer of white sarce-net with a white cross, 10 pair of almayne rivelets, 1 harness for a horseman, 6 black bills, 16 arming swords, 7 sheaves of arrows, and 6 daggers."‡

In the Churchwardens' accounts such entries as the following are met with:—

1555. Payde to Lowe, fletcher, for fetheryng of
 iiij. sheffe of arrowse and new trymming of
 the heddes iiijs.

1557. Payde for setting owt of soldyers the vij.
 day of January iii℥ viijs. viiid.

and in the last year of Queen Mary, St. Margaret's sent out five soldiers to Portsmouth at a cost of 33s. 4d.

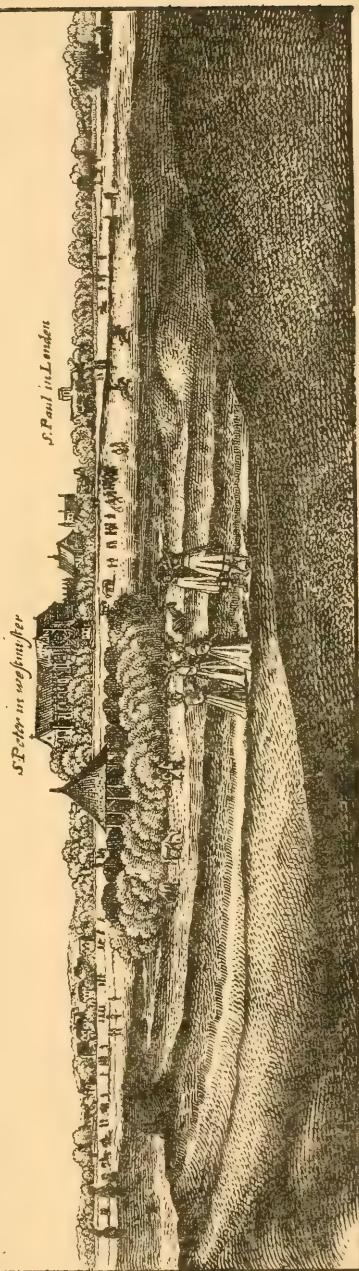
The subjoined extracts from the old minute-books of the St. Margaret's Vestry will sufficiently instance the affection

* Walcott's *Memorials*, p. 324.

† Mr. W. E. H. Oxley in the *West London Press*, July 17, 1886.

‡ *Notes and Queries*, 17 January, 1857.

Toothillfields



WIGHTMAN & CO., PHOTO-LITHO.

Toothillfields about 1650; showing the Maze (see page 304.)

From an engraving by the celebrated Wenceslaus Hollar (1607—1677.)

in which the practice of archery was held by the "parochial fathers" as a means of defence against invasion:—

17 *Nov.* 1674. Upon the application of Mr Edward Ffalconberg and Mr Edmund Woodruffe, in behalfe of the Archers, Clameing a Right in the Shooteing house in Tuttle ffields It is thought fitt that (for the future) the Churchwardens for the time being doe alwaies at the Letting of the said house Reserve liberty for the Archers to make use of the Chamber there.

8 *May* 1667. That it be Referred unto the Churchwardens to take care that the Shooteing house in Tuttle ffields being parte of the estate of Mr John Allen late deceased be disposed off to the best Advantayge as being a Legacy by him left to this Parish.

6 *July* 1667. That the present Churchwardens Doe Contract for and by in the Lease of the House in Tuttle ffields (called the Shooting House) for the use of this parish at the most Easie Rates they can p'cure it for And what they doe pay for the same shall be allowed them at the passing of their Acct

20 *May* 1668. That the Churchwardens Doe Allow unto the present tenant in the House commonly called the Shooting House in Tuttle Feilds the Sume of 40^s out of his Rent Towards the makeing of a Payre of New Butts and Keeping them in Repayre which sd 40^s shall be allowed at the passing of the Churchwardens Acct

But the honoured long-bow, which did such service in English yeomen's hands at Crecy and Agincourt and Poitiers, was rapidly superseded in the sixteenth century for military purposes, by the general introduction of "villainous saltpetre"; and—

Those days are gone away,
And their hours are old and grey

No, the bugle sounds no more,
And the twanging bow no more;
Silent is the ivory shrill
Past the heath and up the hill.

So it is: yet let us sing,
Honour to the old bow-string;
Honour to the bugle horn!
Honour to the woods unshorn!
Honour to the Lincoln green!
Honour to the archer keen!

KEATS.

That Westminster kept well abreast of the times is illustrated by the following further extracts from the parish accounts :—

1517.	To Mr. Fisher, for making the Butts at Tothill	0	27	0
1548.	Paid to 11 men for wearing the same harness at the muster-day, to every man 6d.	0	5	6
1581.	For scouring the armour and the shot against the musters in Tothill Fields... ..	0	26	0
	Paid for powder for the soldiers upon the mustering days	0	12	4
	Paid for brown paper for them	0	0	0
	Paid to the soldiers, the ancient-bearer, and him that played on the drum	0	27	4

On the 31st October, 1667, the Vestry of St. Margaret's ordered—

That all the Arms, both Offensive and Defensive And also all the Watch Matr^s now remaining in the Dark Vestry be for the better Preservation thereof Removed thence unto the House Newly Erected in the Artillery Ground in Tuttle fields.

When the clouds of the Civil Wars were gathering in threatening sombreness, the fields were a favourite drill-ground of the “trained bands,”—a body of men “drawn forth in arms” in support of the King. Their loyalty soon began to waver, however, and eventually they transferred their strength to the support of the Parliament. Clarendon records that these “trained bands” were at first too lightly esteemed, because of their inexperience in any kind of service or danger, “beyond the easy practice of their postures in the Artillery Garden”; but the earliest reverses of the King showed their mettle, as did the soldiery of the “Ironsides” later on, under Cromwell’s captaincy. The number of men who mustered in the fields at this time was so formidable that the above-named writer declares that “London and Westminster were an inexhaustible magazine of men” for the Parliamentarians, from which the record that 14,000 men paraded at one time in the fields derives some confirmation.

Sir Richard Steele, ridiculing the trained bands in *The Tatler* (No. 28), writes:—

“Our own antient and well-governed cities are conspicuous examples to all mankind in their regulation of military achievements. The chief citizens, like the noble Italians, hire mercenaries to carry arms in their State ; and you shall have a fellow of a desperate fortune, for the gain of one half-crown, go through all the dangers of Tothill Fields or the Artillery Ground, clap his right jaw within two inches of the touch-hole of a musket, and fire it off with a huzza with as little concern as he tears a pullet.”

At the outbreak in 1642 of the Great Rebellion—which the inhabitants of London and Westminster did so much to precipitate—the rural quietness of Tothill-fields was once more disturbed. In obedience to the order of the Parliament of the 7th March of that momentous year, (1642-3) a battery with an earthen breast-work or rampart was erected here, near the Neat-houses, to form part of the fortifications which were hurriedly thrown up round the two cities by the “unruly people of the suburbs”—to use King Charles’s own words *—under the zealous supervision of Lord Mayor Penington, “a busy stickler of the Faction.” †

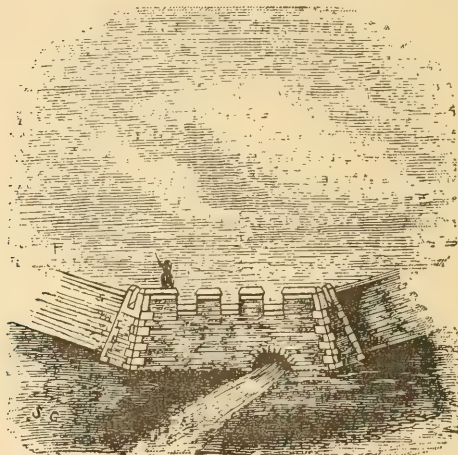
Mr. W. J. Loftie’s *History of London* contains an interesting plan showing the line of these defence works. The battery in Tothill-fields is marked as about midway between the Chelsea-road ‡ and the river-bank opposite Vauxhall. The sites of the other forts in the west were at positions now corresponding with Victoria-station, Constitution-hill, Hyde-park-corner, and across the river at Vauxhall. They were destroyed, Walcott states, in 1647, when the citizens refused to advance a loan of £50,000 demanded by the Parliament to pay the army.

* Whitelocke’s *Memorials of the English Affairs*.

† Heath’s *Chronicle*.

‡ Buckingham-palace-road, and the road through the squares.

"London," says Maitland, "was the very soul of the cause." The ordinances of the Parliament were obeyed like Acts, and "even mere children became Volunteers, forsook their parents, and followed the camp."* After the indecisive battle of Edgehill, the trained bands forced the King to abandon his threatened attack on London. Shops were shut and apprentices enrolled, proclamation being made that when their services were no longer required, the masters should reinstate them in their former places.



Battery in Tothill Fields, 1642.

The zeal of the people of Westminster for "the Cause" is, in point of fact, amply evidenced by the parish accounts. "Behaviour," says Goethe, "is a mirror in which everyone shows his image," and our excuse for referring so often to the Churchwardens' accounts is that they reflect most honestly the hates and bias of the times, and hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to Nature and to Truth severe:—

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS, 1652-3.

Received of Mr. Edward Martyn for 53 pound weight	
of Gunpowder after the rate of <i>iiij</i> <i>li.</i> y ^e barrell	... <i>xlijs.</i> <i>iiij</i> <i>d.</i>
Of Mr. Ffreeman Marchant for foure barrells of Gun-	
powder ... ..	... <i>xvj</i> <i>li.</i>

* Heath's *Chronicle*.

Paid to the Bearers and three Porters for bringing home the firehooks from Widdow Glassington's at Tuthill bridge	xij <i>d</i> .
Paid for boat-hire when we went to London and sould fourre barrells of Gunpowder	xij <i>d</i> .
Paid to Mr. Hatton Gardiner for making y ^e paire of Shooting Butts in Tuttle fields	ls.
To Peter Carle and Harris labourers for trenching the Butts to preserve them from Cattell	xxx <i>s</i> .
Paid to Mr. Browne, Carpenter, for a planke and piles to make Bridges over to the same Butts	viijs. vj <i>d</i> .
Allowed to Mr. ffreeman when wee sould the fourre barrells of Gunpowder to him in respect of some want of weight, and for carriage of it to his house ...viijs.	vj <i>d</i> .
Paid for levelling the ground in Tuttle fields before the Butts	iijs.

Whitelocke* records that on the 25th August, 1651, the "Trained Bands of London, Westminster, &c., drew out into Tuttle Fields, in all about 14,000; the speaker and divers members of the Parliament were there to see them." A few days afterwards (September 3) Cromwell had gained the decisive Battle of Worcester; and on the 21st, the victorious general was met near Acton, "with the Speaker and the Members, and the Lord Mayor, and Recorder Steel, who in a set speech congratulated his great Successes, and like a false Prophet, by a mistaken Prolepsis, applied these words of the Psalmist,—*To binde their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of Iron*, in an arrogant Exaltation of his Achievements. Next day the Common Prisoners (being driven like a herd of swine) were brought through *Westminster* into *Tothill Fields* (a sadder spectacle was never seen, except the miserable place of their defeat) and there sold to several Merchants, and sent to the *Barbadoes*; the Colours taken, were likewise hanged up in *Westminster-hall*, with those taken before at *Preston* and *Dunbar*."†

* Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke's *Memorials of English Affairs*, 1862.

† *A Chronicle of the late Intestine War in the Three Kingdoms*, by James Heath, 1661—p. 301.

One of the *Civil War Tracts of Lancashire* tells the shameful story with every mark of callous insolence:—

Friday the 12 of Sept., 1651, my Lord General drew near to the City of London and my Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Recorder met about 10 of the clock in the forenoon at Guildhall in their Scarlet robes, and with a dozen coaches went forth to meet his Excellency, a little beyond Acton, unto whom Mr. Recorder made a congratulatory speech in behalf of the whole City; he was also met on the way by many Lords, the Speaker of Parliament and Members of the Council of State as also many thousands of citizens both horse and foot (yet the Train-band went not forth) which filled the ways and places best situate for beholders four or five miles together. First came his Life-guards being a Company of as gallant Genl. as you have seen mounted, heroick, and valiant; after them a Troop of Col. *Rows* horse belonging to the City, next unto them a great number of Commoners and Gent. of quality, then his Excellency and the Speaker of Parliament came in a coach by themselves, and by estimation at least three hundred coaches close after one another.

At Hide Park corner near Knightsbridge stood to receive him the blew Regiment of Voluntiers lately raised, and from thence to Piccadilly was placed Col. *Barksteads* Regiment of red-coats, the great guns were also drawn out of St. Jameses, and about the time that his Excellency came to Charing Crosse they went off one after another once over which they had no sooner done, but there was a gallant volley of shot given by the souldiers that brake the air, and with a mighty shout of the people ecchoed again to the earth, with order in the manner aforesaid with great and small shot, and hallowing of the people was observed and done four severall times over.

As the Generall passed by, the people all along as he went put off their hats and had reciprocal respects return'd from him again; his Excellency chose rather to come in as privately as he could in a coach then openly on horseback, to avoid the popularity and applaises of the people, desiring rather that the good he doth do this Common-wealth may be heard and felt than seen, that the people should attribute or ascribe too much unto him, who desires to carry on the work of the Lord in all meeknesse and humility.

The last night the Scots, Highlands, or Redshanks, about 4000 in number lay on Hampstead heath, four miles from London, and this day they were with a guard brought by Highgate on the back-side of Islington to Kingsland, and from thence to Milingreen they were suffered to receive such charity as people would give them, and had a cart-load or two of biskit carrying after them, which is better food then heretofore they carried in their Oatneal bag. The next day being Saturday they were brought in at Algate, and so marched through cheap-side, Fleet-street and the Strand, and likewise through Westminster. For the most part they were very sturdy surley knaves, keep them under, and they may serve for nasty stinking vassals, I

leave to every indifferent person that hath beheld them to judge what a condition they had been in if such a generation as this had prevailed and become their masters, or cut their throats, of which they made themselves so sure many of them brought their wives and bernes in with them, yet were many of our Scotified Citizens so pittifull unto them, that as they passed through the City made them (though prisoners at mercy) masters of more money and good white-bread than some of them ever see in their lives, they marched this night into Tuttle-fields, some Irish are amongst them, and most of them are habited much after that fashion, the English that were at the battel are severed out by themselves ; they are not yet come, but are coming up.*

Twelve hundred of these poor fellows, who had succumbed to their rigorous treatment, were buried in the Fields. The churchwardens' accounts of 1652-3 exhibit the following eloquent entry :—

Paid to Thomas Wright for 67 load of soyle laid on the Graves in Tuthill fields wherein 1,200 Scotch prisoners (taken at the ffight at Worcester) were buried and for other paines taken with his teeme of horsse about amending the Sanctuarye high way when Generall Ireton was buried	xxxs.
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The accounts of the previous year (1651) are even more interesting as showing the local feeling of the time, and bear sad witness to the extraordinary brutality shown to the conquered. Livy's woeful exclamation of *Vae victis* was never more gloomily testified.

Received of the right hon ^{ble} the Counsell of State to- ward reperacon and cleansing of the new Church and the new Churchyard after the Scottish prisoners had much annoyed and spoiled the same	xxxli.
--	-----	-----	--------

Paid to the Ringers for ringing on the fourth of Septem- ber, upon intelligence of ye overthrow of the Scottish Army att Worcester	vjs.
--	-----	-----	-----	------

Paid to the Ringers for ringing on the foure and twen- tieth day of October, being a day of thanksgiving for the victorie over the Scotts att Worcester	vijjs.
---	-----	-----	--------

Paid for hearbs and lawrell that were strewd in the Church the same daie	viiijs.
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* Tract in the King's Library Collection at the Brit. Mus. *Another victory in Lancashire obtained over the Scots by Maj. Gen. Harrison and Collonel Lilburn.* . . . London, printed by B.A.---MDCLII.

Paid to Robert Crispe and sundry other labourers for digging trenching and cleansing the new Churchyard whereby the annoyance made by the Scottish prisoners there was destroyed... .. xxxixs. iiij*d*.
 Paid to Ralph Lynes for carrying away part of the soyle and filth out of the new Church which the Scotch prisoners made there ijs. vj*d*.
 Paid for a petition to the Committee of Prisoners for a recompence for iniurie done by the Scotch prisoners in the new Church and churchyard xij*d*.
 Paid to Mr. Ffrosts clerke for an Order of the Counsell of State, whereby Thirtie pounds was ordered in respect of the said iniuries vs.

In justice, however, to the Churchwardens of the year 1650, the following payment ought to be quoted, as it would appear to show that, before the Battle of Worcester had been fought and won, their ears had not been rendered deaf to

“The still sad music of humanity”

by the exulting psalms of Cromwell's Ironsides:—

October (1650).—To Prisoners in distresse that came out of Scotland xij*d*.

Some of the prisoners, as we have seen, were shipped to the Barbadoes, and Whitelock states in his *Chronicle* (September 30, 1651), in his matter of fact way, that, “upon the desire of the Guinea merchants, fifteen hundred of the Scots prisoners were granted to them, and sent on ship-board to be transported to Guinea to work in the mines there, and upon a quarrel among the soldiers in the barges, two or three hundred of them were drowned.”

Even a more sorrowful but yet a more humane use is next found for these fields. And here we come to a period which is perhaps more immediately associated with Tothill-fields than any other—the time of the Plague. On the ruins of the Cromwellian earthworks was shortly afterwards erected, as being somewhat removed from the town, a lazarette of boards, called “the Pest-houses,” for the reception of the poor folk suffering from the periodic visitations of the Plague—for there were many “tymes of

sycknesse” in Westminster,* which led up to and culminated in the Great Plague of 1665-6.

“Time never knew, since he begunne his houres
(For aught we reade), a plague so long remaine
In any cittie as this plague of ours ;
For now six years in London it hath laine.”

The Triumph of Death, BY JOHN DAVIES, 1609.

Either the parochial fathers or some such kindly philanthropist as “My Lord Craven” thus early instituted the principal of field hospital isolation, now-a-days so extensively adopted by the Metropolitan Asylums Board.

The churchwardens’ accounts contain the following :—

DISBURSEMENTS FOR REPAIRS DONE TO THE PESTHOUSES IN
TUTHILL FIELDS AND FOR OTHER NECESSARIES THERE
VIZT. :—

1651. Paid to Francis Day Carpenter for a doore and
doore case and for other stuffe used and worke
done at the Pesthouses. As by his bill and receipt
appeareth iij*l*. xvijs.
Paid to John Lewis for mending the tyling where the
sunne dyall stands neere the Pesthouses ijs. vjd.
Paid to Thomas Salloway and John Atkins labourers for
digging and trenching of 37 rod and a halfe and 4
foot of ditching att iijs. the rod vij*l*. xjs.
Paid more to the said Thomas Salloway and John Atkins
for throwing downe the loame which was digged out
of the ditch and for levelling the ground there ... xviijs.
Paid more to the said Thomas Salloway and John Atkins
for two daies labour in going to Hide Park and
bringing bushes thence and for setting them about
the gate of the Pesthouses and for other labour there vijs.
Paid for 1500 of quick-sett for a third rowe sett before
the ditch there vjs. iiij*l*.
1652. Paid to Richard Parrock Smith for work done at
ye Pesthouses in Tuttlefields and at the new Cage in
the Sanctuary xxjs.
Paid to Mr. Hawes for an Elme pipe laid to Convey
water into ye Ditch neere ye pesthouses and for car-
riage of the pipe vjs.

and in the accounts of 1672 :—

For setting up 2 pumps, 1 at ye Pesthouse and 1 at the
Shooting-hous, as by Bill xiiij*l*.
To a porter 6d., ffor a shovell 1. 6., for a Trusse of
Straw 6d. ijs. vjd.

* Notably the years 1603, 1625.

To — Bayley for 2 Stones to lay under the pompe as by Bill	vs. vjd.
To John Lewis, Bricklayer, as by Bill	xvijs.
To Mr. Hawes for a pype, and for carrying and place- ing it at ye pest house	vs.

The accounts relating to the Great Plague, which were kept separately from the ordinary payments by the churchwardens of the time, were accidentally discovered in the tower of St. Margaret's Church in 1885. They bear the signatures of worthy Emery Hill and Francis Dorington, as the justices by whom they were 'allowed,' and were printed for the first time by the Rev. R. Ashington Bullen, B.A., in the *St. Margaret's Parish Magazine*. They are entitled to a reproduction here with Mr. Bullen's notes:—

"The visitation is commonly supposed to have been in 1665, but according to this document it lasted in Westminster for the 32 weeks of 1666 from April 9th till November 5th.

"The first part of this paper consists of a weekly account of expenditure for what may be termed extraordinary expenses, *i.e.*, for special cases, and also payments to watchmen (warders) in certain streets and to nurses at the pest-house. We quote a few items, retaining the incorrect, varying and quaint spellings:—

			<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Weeke 1.	April 9th.	Wood* a Warder in Peter Street ...	3	0
		ffor 2 padlocks†	1	4
2 weeke	" 16th	Elizabeth Helyer a stranger taken up at ye new Buldings and sent to ye Pest-house and for a nurs to attend her	4	6
		ffor 2 men to carry her to ye Pest-house	2	0
		ffor a trusse of straw	0	8
		To the searchers for Inquisition on three persons	1	6
3 weeke		ffor carrying ye goods of severall per- sons from St. Steph: Ally to the Pest-house	2	6
		to 2 porters for loding ye sd. goods ...	3	0
		To a warder at Roberts in S. Stephnes Ally 4 dayes and 2 night	5	0
		To Dian. Tanner,‡ An Roberts, Eliz. and An Turmage at ye Pest-house..	9	4

* This item occurs nearly every week until he probably died (perhaps of the Plague) about Oct. 1st.

† For fastening up the empty houses from which the plague-stricken had been removed.

‡ Probably nurses at the Pest-house.

		To a warder at Biggs one weeke ...	3	6
4 weeke.	April 30th.	To 2 nurses for watching with An Thomas 4 nights at ye Pest-house..	5	6
		ffor a coach to carry Ann Thomas to St. Martin's and thence to ye Pest-house	2	6
		To a warder at ye Owle	1	0
		To Wood a warder in St. Steph: Ally	3	0
6 weeke.	May 14th.	To the 2 children of An Thomas at ye Pest-house and a nurse to attend them	5	6
7 weeke.	May 21st.	Sym. Buggy Warder in ye new way..	3	0
		To Pirie 3 in ffamily	6	6
8th weeke.		ffor carrying John Pirie's goods and ffamily from St. Stephn's Ally to ye Pest-house	6	6
16 weeke.		To Henry Weeden for padlocks as by his Bill appeareth	11	6
17 weeke.	July 30.	To Wm. Haithorne to by shoes Stockins and Bodice for one of ye childr: of El: Thomas	3	6
18 weeke.	Aug. 6.	Symon Buggy a warder in Tuttle Street	3	0
21 „	Aug. 27.	ffor carrying A man to ye pest-house who came from Exeter to ye Sanctuary	3	0
		ffor necessities whilst he was there...	3	6
		ffor Burying ye man that came from Exeter	3	0
26 „	Oct. 1.	Wm. Haythorne to by cloathes for ye sayd child (Thomas)	2	0

These are the chief items ; many of them occur again and again. The plague seems to have ended by Nov. 5th, as there are no further entries after that date, and the expenditure during the last 2 weeks amounted to only 4 shillings.

The Second part of these Accounts is even of more interest than the foregoing, and shows a total expense of more than £1700, representing an expenditure at the present day of probably £7000 or more.

PAYMENTS MADE FOR THE USE OF YE POOR VISITED OF THE PLAGUE.

Paid To	£	s.	d.
To John Lee for casting a Ditch and makeing the Banks about the pest-house	02	7	3
for A Lock and Key for A House shutt up in Wood St...	00	1	4
for 2 Pound of ffume to Burn in Visited Houses...	01	0	0
To John Angier carpenter, and John Lewis Bricklayer for Building a shedd at ye Pest-house	10	0	0
To Henry Weeden for Padlocks, Hasps and Staples to affixe to ye visited Houses and for casements and other Iron works at ye Pest-house... ..	02	16	0

For a bagg of Lime to Ayre the Visited houses	0	0	6
For locks and other things for ye visited at Knightsbr :	0	8	10
For a warrant for summoning severall persons before ye Justices who Refused to pay their tax for ye visited *	1	0	
For straps for the Sedan †	4	0	
A cart to carry ye visited corps to ye graves I : W : ‡ ...	0	10	0
For 2 wheelbarrows	0	7	6
For a Sedan for the visited	1	2	6
Expended in Bying Physick for the Visited at the Pest- houses	0	4	6
To Apothecary for Physick Drugs as p Bill	4	0	0
To Jon. Angier for 2 shutting windows at ye Search-house	0	8	0
To John Angier for erecting a new Bonehouse	0	12	0
For Pouwder and Shott and Watching to kill ye Doggs	0	4	6
To ffranc Brockhurst in pt. for Shrouds	15	0	0
To the Pitmaker for his care in providing Room for ye visited corps	00	2	6
For covering the Ground in ye New Chappell yard ...	12	14	0
For 4 Que. (quire) of Dr. Cox's Divertions against ye plague	00	10	0
To ffrancis Brockhurst pte. for shrouds	20	0	0
To him more upon the same Acct.... ..	10	0	0
To John Lennard for his extraordinary paynes in keeping the Acct. for the Visited and all other writeings, trouble and care thereabouts	20	0	0
Allowed unto ourselves for the graves of 2,954 Poor people buryed in this parish this yeare called Nils at one penny A Piece By order	12	6	2
To the Dog-killer from the 2nd of August to ye 16th of Sept :	01	8	0
For A Mopp and A Broom	00	1	0
To the Dog-killer for burying 353 Dogs	00	4	0
<hr/>			
The Totall of all the Receipts	1652	8	1½
” ” ye Disbursements	1714	11	6
Soe there Rests due to these Accountps	62	3	4½

* This item occurs 11 times, sometimes for 4 summonses at once.

† A closed chair with handles used for carrying ladies. Introduced into London, A.D. 1634, “because of the noise, confusion and danger produced by hackneys, and to save the wear and tear of the streets.” To ease the burden on the arms of the two carriers, straps or leather thongs were passed over the shoulder which hung down in front and having holes through which the chair handles went, helped to take the weight of the chair. Such a chair is figured in Thompson’s *England*, Vol. II., 627, see also II., 767, 768 : Vol. III., 406.

‡ This item occurs six times, I : W : means 1 week,

Be it remembered that this Acct. was Audited the Ninth day of September 1667 : By us whose names are hereunto subscribed And was found Just in every part.

EMERY HILL.

FFRAN : DORRINGTON.

That the 'local authorities' of Westminster were not taken unawares would be gathered from the subjoined entry in the Vestry minutes:—

14th July, 1665. That the Churchwardens doe forthwith proceed to the making of an Additional provision for the Reception of the poore Visited of the Plague at the Pest House in Tuttle ffeldes. And that they doe Treatewith & agree with such workemen for performing the same as they shall thinke fitt. And that they Defrey the Charge thereof out of such Moneys as they already have in their Hands or hereafter shall receive for that purpose by Order of the Vestry or otherwaies.

Strype's *Stow* (1720) refers to these pest-houses, and Seymour in his *Survey* (1735) copies him word for word:—

In Tothill-fields, which is a large spacious Place, there are certain Pest-houses, now made use of by 12 poor Men and their Wives, as long as it shall please God to keep us from the Plague. These Pest-houses are built near the Meads as being remote from people.

The "Five Houses" or "Seven Chimneys," as they were called, are shown in a slight etching made of them by Hollar. Thither many a sinister group bore the litter of the stricken, lighted by flaring torch or feeble lanthorn, not so much with any hope of recovery, as that the spread of the dire infection might thereby be checked. As the pestilence increased in virulence under the fierce brazen sky of that awful summer, the Fields became a plague-pit, and the lanes and purlieus of Westminster—

Thereby themselves to save
Did vomit out their undigested dead,
Who by cart-loads were carried to the grave ;
For all these lanes with folk were overfed.

Terrible, indeed, comments Walcott, though the skies were bright, as if in mockery, must have been the state of Westminster at the time!

"A midnight silence at the noon of day
And grass, untrodden, springs beneath the feet!"

DRYDEN.

It would be presumption to attempt to describe the ravages of "London's Dreadful Visitation,"* while the lurid pages of Defoe and Evelyn, and Clarendon and Linguard, remain on our book-shelves. Pepys writes in his diary (Oct. 16, 1665) "They tell me that in Westminster there is never a physician and but one apothecary left, all being dead;" and again (July 18, 1665): "I was much troubled to hear, at Westminster, how the officers do bury the dead in the open Tuttle Fields, pretending want of room elsewhere: whereas the New Chapel-yard† was walled in at the public charge in the last plague-time, merely for want of room; and now none, but such as are able to pay dear for it, can be buried there." An idea of the ravages of the disease in Westminster may be gathered from the fact that nearly 3,000 persons who succumbed thereto, were buried at the expense of the parish.

Stand aloof,
 And let the Pest's triumphant chariot
 Have open way advancing to the tomb
 See how he mocks the pomp and pageantry
 Of earthly kings! A miserable cart
 Heap'd up with human bodies; dragg'd along
 By pale steeds, skeleton-anatomies!
 And onwards urged by a wan meagre wretch,
 Doom'd never to return from the foul pit,
 Whither, with oaths, he drives his load of horror.
 Would you look in? Grey hairs and golden tresses,
 Wan shrivell'd cheeks that have not smiled for years,
 And many a rosy visage smiling still;
 Bodies in the noisome weeds of beggary wrapt,
 With age decrepit, and wasted to the bone;
 And youthful frames, august and beautiful,
 In spite of mortal pangs,—there lie they all,
 Embraced in ghastliness!

JOHN WILSON.

Mr. Jesse, in his *Memorials of London*, thus graphically describes the state of Westminster at the time: "In those dreadful days, during the raging of the plague in 1665—

* A collection of all the Bills of Mortality for 1665 were published under this title.

† Now Christ Church, Victoria-street.

when the red cross and the ‘Lord, have mercy upon us’ were painted on the doors of half the houses in London ; when the dead-cart went its round in the still night, and the tinkle of the bell, and the cry of ‘Bring out your dead,’ alone broke the awful silence—it was in a vast pit in the neighbourhood of the Artillery Ground that the frequent dead-carts discharged their noisome cargoes by the fitful light of the torches which the buryers held in their hands. In one of the journals of the period we find a complaint made, in regard to these burial places, that ‘the bodies are piled even to the level of the ground, and thereby poison the whole neighbourhood.’ The Pest House in the fields beyond Old-street, and that in Tothill-fields, appear to have been the two principal ones in the neighbourhood of the metropolis.” *

“The stoppage of the plague, after all human efforts had been tried as it were, with only partial success, was by many regarded as supernatural. De Foe was of this opinion, and he uses language particularly strong in expressing it. ‘Nothing’ he says, ‘but the immediate finger of God, nothing but omnipotent power could have put a stop to the infection. The contagion despised all medicine; death raged in every corner; and had it gone on as it did then, a few weeks more would have cleared the town of all, and of every thing that had a soul. Men every where began to despair, every heart failed them for fear: people were made desperate through the anguish of their soul, and the terrors of death sat in every countenance.’”

Whatever deference may be given to the idea of an immediate interposition of Providence, the alteration of the weather in September was doubtless a principal means by which the spreading of the pestilence was arrested. Echard, whose authority was Dr. Baynard, “an ingenious and learned physician,” speaking of the state of the seasons whilst the infection raged, says that ‘there was such a

* *Memorials of London*, by J. Heneage Jesse; 1847.

general calm and serenity of weather, as if both wind and rain had been expelled the kingdom, and for many weeks together he could not discover the least breath of wind, not even so much as would move a fan ;' that 'the fires in the streets with great difficulty were made to burn ;' and that 'by the extreme rarefaction of the air, the birds did pant for breath, especially those of the larger sort, who were likewise observed to fly more heavily than usual.'

The suspension of public business, in the height of the contagion, was so complete, that grass grew within the very area of the exchange, and even in the principal streets of the city. All the inns of court were shut up, and all law proceedings suspended. Neither cart nor coach was to be seen from morning till night, excepting those employed in the conveyance of provisions, in the carriage of the infected to the pest-houses, or other hospitals, and a few coaches used by the physicians. The pest-houses, of which there were only two, were situated in Bunhill-fields, near Old-street, and in Tothill-fields, Westminster. These were found to be of the greatest utility, yet the hurry and multiplicity of cases, which the rapid increase of the pestilence occasioned, prevented the establishing of any more.*

The *West London Press*, September, 1886, contained the following suggestive paragraph :—

Discovery of Ten Skeletons in a Garden in Westminster.

A correspondent writes :—"Last Thursday week, during some excavations made for foundations for new buildings in a new street which will cut across the grounds of the Grey Coat Hospital in Westminster, the workmen, at about 3 ft. 6 in. below the surface, came across ten skeletons supposed to have been buried there at the time of the plague or some such epidemic. The Hospital dates back to 1695. They were laid feet to feet in regular order. Two of them appeared to be females from the shape of the skulls, and one a lad of 20. Some of the bones were very large, and some of the teeth were in good preservation. The remains were all carefully collected, and placed in a box for re-interment.

* Allen's *History of London*, p. 398.

The description given by the Earl of Craven, preserved in the Public Record Office, also furnishes an insight into the spread of the contagion in and about Westminster:—

The Earl of Craven's Account of the Proceedings of the Justices concerning the Pestilence (Great Plague, 1665) 1666. [February 1665-6].

Since the receipt of the letter from the Lords of the Councell there has been severall Meetings of the Justices of the Peace both to review the Orders formerly made by the Councell Board as well as their owne and many direcons thereupon given and warrants issued forth to the respective officers as the present occasion required both for the preservation of the inhabitants from the infection of the plague as well as making provision for such as were shut up and were in want.

The Lord Bishop of London was consulted with all concerning buriall places who could not consecrate any ground unless a perpetuatie of the same be first obtayned.

Nevertheless the Justices have directed that such persons who dye of the sicknesse shalbe buried in the late usuall places assigned for that purpose.

Such infected who were removable were sent to the Pest House and others who could not have been shut up their doors were marked with a red crosse for 40 dayes Warders appointed to guard them within as well as hinder the approach of Company from without, with a white crosse afterwards for the same time. There has been no complaints brought to the Justices of any neglect herein but doe believe that due execution hath been generally made of this order having themselves made a particular observation in severall places.

The Churchyards have not been so generally covered with lyme in regarde of the dearnesse and scarcity thereof there being not a sufficient quantity to be had for that end and purpose but much fresh earth and lyme has been layd in many churchyards and those bodyes wch have been there buried so deep layd that we hope no inconveniencing can from thence arise beside special care is taken not to open the same graves again.

The streets are dayly cleansed and the filth carried away by the Raker who brings the carts every morning and giving notice thereof to the inhabitants by the sound of his Bell to the end that every Perticular house alsoe may be cleared of its filth. As to the laystalls too neere the streets and passages much care has been taken for to remove them many difficulties have arisen therein by reason of titles in law wch the proprietors had therein Not with standing by the industry and diligence of the Justices some are already quite removed and the rest we hope in a very short time wilbe removed to the great advantage of the inhabitants as well as to the satisfaction of the Lords of the Councell order.

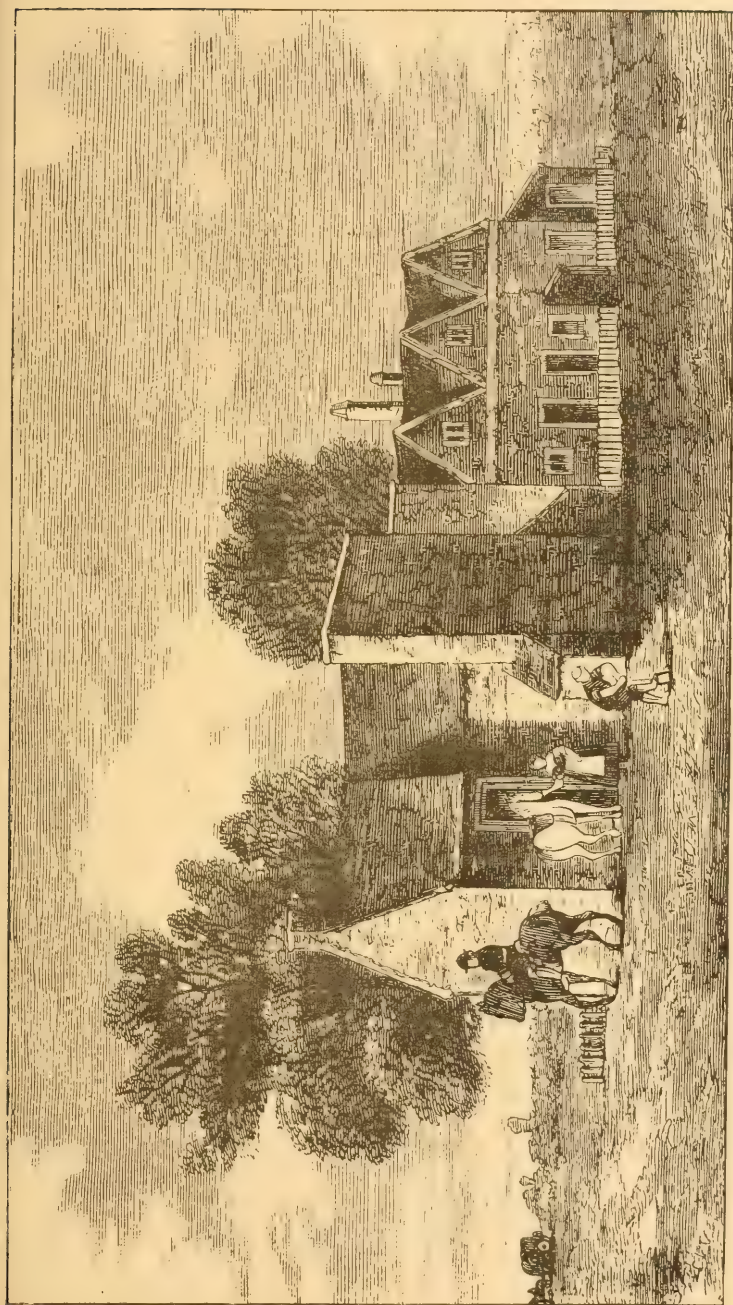
Beggars have ben and are dayly removed and punished and provision made for the poore of each parish according to law.

As to the state of the pest house the Justices have frequently and very lately considered of it and doe conceive it highly convenient for the Preservation of the adjoining Parishes that they were enlarged: that in Westminster being able to contayne but 60 persons, and that other in the Soho but 90 person w^{ch} now serve for St Martins St Clements St Paul Covent Garden and St Mary Savoy ; Scarce large enough for one of the sayd parishes. That in St Gyles will contain but 60 persons w^{ch} considering the multitude of poore in that parish cannot be of any considerable use if the sicknesse brake out amongst them. Now how these may be enlarged or indeed continued as they are for the publique use of the forementioned parishes the ordinary taxes and parochial duties being so numerous the middling sort of persons soe much impoverished by the late Calamity of the Plague so few or rather none of the Nobility & gentry likely to continue here in case it should please God that the Plague brake out againe is submitted to the wisdom of the boarde whose ayde and assistance is wth all humility and speed begged herein it being the most probable meanness of hindering the Spreading of the Contagium amongst us.

The business of inmates & inhabitants in cellars has been very often debated and adjudged upon by the Justices and although many difficulties have appeared to them by reason of particular leases and contracts between their respective householders and inmates for a certain term of yeares yet to come and in regard that severall of the said inmates most of which are poore necessitious persons and if once removed would prove excessively chargable to the parishes (which at this period are least able to bear it) the Justices have made a progresse herein having convened before them all the respective landlords w^{thn} the adjacent parishes and taken account of each particular case to the end that in a short tyme they doubt not but to give a good account hereof, very many being removed already and are dayly removing.

The "Five Houses" are described by an anonymous writer as retaining in 1832 much of their primitive appearance. "With the moss and lichens growing on the roofs and walls, and their generally old-fashioned quaintness, a very small stretch of the imagination removed the buildings which had surrounded them even then, and brought them once more into the open ground." In that year "these houses yet excited some curiosity and a measured drawing was made of them at that time.

"Passing up the narrow court, the primitive little group, warranted, perhaps, the idea of a still earlier date for their building. The reddish grey tone of the old brick-work, where the lime whiting had disappeared, and the



The Pest Houses, Tothill Fields.

From The Builder, Jan. 30, 1875.

mosses on the roofs, seemed quite out of character with the growing neighbourhood surrounding them. The old palings here and there yet indicated where the pigs and the chickens had been kept, and had not long kept their habitation. Over one of the doors was nailed the horse-shoe, so salutary a preventive against the entrance of the witch, and even a belief in its efficacy was at the time elicited from the old woman with whom the young measurer of the buildings had his early morning conversation.”*

But it is time to turn to brighter scenes.

Tothill Fields were at one time called “Tuttle-in-the-maze” from there having been formerly a maze here; it is shown in Hollar’s view previously referred to. In 1672 the Churchwardens caused the same to be renovated:—

Paid to Mr. Wm. Brewer for making a Maze in Tuthill
ffields as by Bill 2 0 0

Aubrey,† the antiquary, mentions it—

“There is a Maze at this day in Tuthill Fields, Westminster, and much frequented in the summer time in fair afternoons.”

To these pleasantly rural fields the good people of Westminster, in the middle of the seventeenth century, were wont to resort—

When toil remitting lent its turn to play,
And all the village train from labour free,
Led up their sports beneath the spreading tree—
While many a pastime circled in the shade,
The young contending as the old surveyed;
And many a gambol frolicked o’er the ground,
And sleights of art and feats of strength went round.
And still as each repeated pleasure tired,
Succeeding sports the mirthful band inspired—

GOLDSMITH.

while others, fonder of meditation’s calm repose, might

* *The Builder*, Jan. 30, 1875.

† John Aubrey, naturalist and antiquary, 1626—1697; published *Miscellanies*, 1696.

stroll along the Willow Walk, or pass the well-cultivated gardens here to be found, listening the while to—

'The chanting linnet, or the mellow thrush
Hailing the setting sun, sweet, in the green thorn-bush,
The soaring lark, the perching red-breast shrill,
Or deep-toned plovers, grey, wild whistling o'er the hill.

BURNS.

The *Glossary illustrating English Authors* by Archdeacon Nares* has the following article—

“*Tuttle, the Maze in*;—that is, the maze in Tothill Fields. Of these fields let me speak with the respect which Dr. Johnson, in the first edition of his Dictionary, paid to Grub-street. They were the Gymnasium of my youth; but whereabouts the *maze* was once situated, I have not been able to discover. It was probably a garden for public resort, in that rural situation; and at the back of it, an unfrequented spot was used, as more lately the field at the back of Montague House (now the British Museum) as a place of appointment for duellists.”

In an old play attributed to John Cook (1614) called “Green’s *Tu Quoque*, or The Cittie Gallant,” occur the following lines (VII., 53.)

Sp. And I will meet thee in the field as fairly
As the best gentleman that wears a sword!
S. I accept it. The meeting-place?
Sp. Beyond the Maze in Tuttle.

According to Cunningham the last duel fought here took place in 1711 between Sir Cholmeley Dering and Mr. Richard Thornhill, the notorious bully. The combatants fought with swords and then with pistols, their weapons being so near that the muzzles touched. Dering, who was to have been married the next week, was killed at the first shot.

“In October, 1670,” says Mr. Walcott, “a complaint was made to the Dean that certain persons sold the land, by many loads in the day, and destroyed the herbage; so

* Robert Nares, Archdeacon of Stafford, A.M., F.R.S., &c., received his first education at Westminster School, where in 1767, at the early age of 14, he was at the head of his election as King’s Scholar. In 1800 he married the daughter of the Revd. Dr. Smyth, headmaster of Westminster School. He was one of the founders of the Royal Society of Literature. It is to his *Glossary* (published 1822) that he owes his literary fame. Died, 1829.

that the place had become an annoyance to passengers, having been 'formerly of great use, pleasure and recreation' to the King's scholars and neighbours."

What a number of famous men have "gone up Fields" to play, or loiter, or dream, according to their boyish temperament! To mention only a few—Ben Jonson (1574); William Heminge, the dramatic writer and fellow actor of Shakespeare; Richard Busby (1606), afterwards headmaster; William Cartwright (1611), the poet and divine; Sir Harry Vane (1612), beheaded in 1662; Sir Arthur Haselrigge (1612), 'regicide'; Cowley the poet (1618); Adam Littleton (1627), the great and justly celebrated scholar; the Marquis of Halifax, statesman and author; John Dryden (1631); John Locke (1632); Sir Christopher Wren (1632); Robert South, the divine (1633); Dr. Humphrey Prideaux (1648), the historian and divine; Elkanah Settle, poet (1648); Matthew Prior; Warren Hastings; Edward Gibbon, the great historian; Robert Nares; Lord Albemarle; the boy-friends, Glynne and Wake; Taswell, the historian; Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, Samuel Fell, George Herbert, Dr. John Wilson, Dr. G. Hooper, Dr. N. Onley, Dr. Zachary Pearce, Samuel and Charles Wesley, Vincent Bourne, Wm. Cowper, Wm. Murray (Earl Mansfield), T. Sheridan, Chas. Churchill, Wm. Burke, the Cumberlands, the Colmans, the Impeys, Dr. Vincent, the Lloyds, Lord Pitt Lennox, Robert Southey, Dr. Page, Dr. Carey, E. Smedley, Patrick Colquhoun, Henry Mayhew, G. A. Henty, Dean Milman, F. Hale Forshall, Dr. H. G. Liddell.

The solitary character of this tract of land, spreading out to the Chelsea-road, beyond which lay the "Five Fields" extending to Knightsbridge, is illustrated by an incident not uncommon to the neighbourhood, at a period when the highwayman would lie in ambush for the belated pedestrian, or for the chaise, which in this instance was conveying not the most loyal subjects of George II. from one of those

political meetings when the mug-house riots were at their height.

“Such was the disturbed condition of society, that two witnesses were sufficient for the immediate arrest of any party suspected of harbouring either Romish priest, or other of proven Jacobite politics, and great abuses were consequent upon this hasty legislation. The panic created by the rumoured march of the Highlanders, with the numerous party of the disaffected in London, kept the alarmed citizens wakeful in their beds; for the Highlanders were feared as a terrible race, and possibly no anticipated result had been surrounded with greater doubt and uncertainty, but that the energy of the king, backed as it was by the commercial interests of the Londoners, threw the balance in favour of the new dynasty. In the summer of 1745, two adherents of the House of Stuart,—one a young officer in the Pretender’s army,—had hired a chaise to convey them from Westminster to the then remote village of Chelsea. To avoid the rioting in the town, they had taken a route across the less disturbed fields. They had not proceeded very far, however, before two well-mounted men made their appearance, and so suddenly that had they risen out of the earth it could not have surprised them more. Both men bore masks, and whilst one of them stopped the post-boy, the other rode up to the window of the chaise, and scrutinised the occupants within. The post-boy spoke in too low a tone to be heard by the travellers, but whatever might have been the nature of the conversation it was sufficiently talismanic to relieve the party of their apprehensions. Making a sign to his companion, both men turned their horses’ heads in the direction of the town, and the postboy proceeded on his journey. Upon reaching their destination, they asked the ‘boy’ who his rather suspicious-looking friends were, to which he returned no answer; but upon being, pressed again on the subject, said, ‘It’s not much matter who they are, but they belong to those who don’t care to

meddle with Prince Charley's boys !' The mystery seemed now greater than before, and further inquiry might only have involved further difficulty. It was evident the postboy knew too much, but in what manner he had become acquainted with their political bias it was impossible for them to conceive. Treating the matter, however, as a joke, and paying the boy handsomely, the matter ended, but their anxiety only terminated by their quitting London for the North. The widow of one of these gentlemen died in 1824, at the advanced age of ninety-five years. After the amnesty, her husband, who fought at the Battle of Culloden, had, in common with others some curious restraint laid upon him, one of which was that he could not ride a horse of a higher value than £10, without forfeiture of it to any one who chose to avail himself of the prohibition."*

From the minute-books of the Vestry of the then undivided parish, it would appear that in the seventeenth century the Dean and Chapter again and again laid claim to the ownership of the land, but without success. In 1696 the Dean and Chapter revived their claims to the freehold ; and a committee, consisting of Mr. Justice Railton, Mr. Hugh Squier, Mr. John Parker, Mr. Charles Rampayne, and others were directed to investigate the claim, and to search the ancient deeds and records relating to the title ; but as the Vestry, in 1701-1704 sanctioned the erection of Mrs. Kifford's almshouses for poor gentlewomen on the land, the Dean and Chapter were not yet successful.

All persons who did not convey stable refuse, &c., on to the land were charged 9d. per load for the soil removed by them, in 1705, and the Churchwardens were instructed to prosecute all persons conveying sand away from the fields.

The plough was brought into requisition to aid in maintaining the title of the parish :—

Nov. 1, 1754.—The Churchwardens acquainted the Vestry that they had caused the Buildings in Tothil Common which were built at the charge of this Parish in the time of the Plague in

* *The Builder*, Jan. 30, 1875.

King Charles the 2nd Reign for Pest-Houses & the ground & trees before the same to be plowed round in order to maintain this parishes claim & right therein.

Resolved that this Vestry do approve thereof & that the thanks of this Vestry be given to the Churchwardens for their care in preserving the rights of this parish.

The title was put to the test by the Dean and Chapter enclosing portions of the land and letting the same for building purposes, whereupon the Vestry directed the churchwardens, with such assistance as they might find necessary, to demolish the fence and put "a man in possession" on behalf of the parish. An action for trespass was brought against the churchwardens and others who took part in the demolition, and the decision was against the Vestry except as to certain small plots.

In 1753 a Committee of enquiry reported that in their opinion the inhabitants of the two parishes had an undoubted right to commoning and herbage, and that encroachments had been made thereon within late years.

In 1795, the Vestry of St. Margaret having placed a notice-board against the houses called the "Five Chimnies" asserting a claim thereto, St. John's Vestry promptly ordered the notice to be forthwith taken down, "as the parish of St. Margaret have no exclusive right in the said property." At last, after an intermittent dispute of over a hundred years' duration, the Dean and Chapter took, in July, 1808, a determined action in asserting their claim to the freehold of Tothill-fields. Dr. William Vincent was Dean at the time (1802-15). His resolute character and enduring interest in Westminster School led him to set aside the interminable questions of law that had gathered around the controversy. In a letter, dated 27th July, 1808, George Giles Vincent, the chapter clerk, intimated "the intention of the Dean and Chapter immediately to inclose Tothill Field"; but the wish was at the same time expressed "to give every accommodation possible to the parishes and to the inhabitants, and particularly to those persons

resident in the neighbourhood of Tothill Field." Accordingly the Dean and Chapter offered to preserve existing roads and footpaths,* and also to grant such other new roads and paths as might be wished for, and thought convenient and consistent with reason without being prejudicial to their interests. The Vestry deferred giving approval, owing to doubts as to the rights of the Dean and Chapter. In the meanwhile the senior churchwarden, Mr. W. H. White, wrote to the chapter clerk pointing out that the occasion now presented itself wherein the Dean and Chapter might essentially accommodate the parish in a matter which the Vestry had long and ardently wished, and which the Dean, as late Rector, was fully aware of,—that of extending the Burial Ground. Lord Grosvenor had long since been applied to for the purpose without the desired effect, and Mr. White now asked that the Dean and Chapter would set apart in a corner of the said Field, a piece of ground for the parish use. The suggestion failed to commend itself, however, to the acceptance of the Chapter.

Hughson, in his *Walks through London*, makes mention of Vincent-square as a "neat square, and one of the most spacious in London: each side consists of elegantly-constructed houses, somewhat in the cottage style." On the east side is the church of St. Mary the Virgin (*see page 224*); on the west side, at the corner with Walcott-street, is the

* A list of the public footpaths accompanied the letter :—

- A Road and footpath from the South side of the Horseferry Road between the Premises in the possession of Messrs. Watts & Son Carpenters and Mrs. Storrs House and Garden Grounds towards the West end to the Lands and Garden Ground in the possession of Mr. Vidler, Earl Grosvenor, Mrs. Miason, Messrs. Hodges and Co. Distillers, Mr. Burcher, and Mr. Cook's Garden Ground on Millbank and to the five Chimneys.
- A Road and footpath from the said South side of the Horseferry Road towards the North end to the Timber Yard on Millbank and to the Premises in the occupation of Barrow Slaughterer of Horses.
- A footpath from the said South side of the Horseferry Road across the Field leaving Mrs. Storrs house and garden Grounds on the right to North end of the Willow Walk.
- A Road and footpath from the West end of the Horseferry Road between the Grey Coat Hospital and the Pound towards the North end of the Willow Walk for the Gardeners Carts to come from Millbank down by the said Willow Walk to the said Road.
- A Road and footpath in the front of the Houses in Rochester Row as is now used and long accustomed,

Coldstream Guards Hospital (*see* Chap. XV.), shadowing the Westminster Police Court (*see* Chap. XV.), which adjoins it. At the north-west corner stand St. Stephen's Church and schools, an eloquent monument to the munificence of the most benevolent lady the nineteenth century has seen.

Dean Vincent's name is also perpetuated in Vincent-street, Vincent-row, and Vincent-place. There was formerly also a Vincent-terrace in Vincent-street, Although no other name could have been more fittingly applied, it is almost a pity that the ancient names of Tothill (except as to the street in St. Margaret's parish), or Bulinga were lost sight of or passed over. This regret was expressed by Mr. Thoms, the antiquarian (who lived in Westminster the greater part of his life), in *Notes and Queries*, of June 16, 1877, wherein he declares that Dean Vincent "was a ripe scholar and worthy man, who, if consulted, would never have consented to the change."

The ten acres which were presently to perpetuate the name of Dean Vincent in Vincent-square, were first marked out in 1810 for appropriation as a playground for the scholars of "St. Peter's College." There would appear to have been no intention at first to enclose the space by railings, for £3 was paid for a plough and a team of horses to drive deep furrows round the site, and a further sum of £2 4s. was given for the digging of a trench at the north-east end, to prevent carts and other traffic from passing over. A map, dated 1816, shows a large pond existing near the west angle of the square. Considerable sums were expended after the 'reclamation' in making the ground suitable for out-door sports, and subsequently for cricket. It was enclosed with iron railings and gates by the Dean and Chapter in 1842. The eminent scholar after whom the square was named, whose career has already been noticed at p. 86, was connected with Westminster more closely than any one other of the Deans, for he was in succession scholar, under-master, head-master (1788-1802),

a prebendary of the Abbey, rector of St. John's parish, and Dean of Westminster (1802-1815).

Dr. Vincent* succeeded Dr. Smith as headmaster in 1788, having therefore passed twice through his school—first as a boy, and secondly, from usher to headmaster. It is also remarkable that he almost constantly resided within the Abbey precincts from his eighth to his seventy-sixth year. His head-mastership was characterised by distinguished ability. His scholars long remembered, says Dean Stanley, his swinging pace, his sonorous quotations, and the loud Latin call of *Eloquere, puer, eloquere*, with which he ordered the boys to speak out. It is said that shortly after his nomination as Dean, he met George III. on the terrace of Windsor Castle. The King expressed his regret at the separation of the See of Rochester from the Deanery. The Doctor replied that he was perfectly content. "If you are satisfied," said the King, "I am not. They ought not to have been separated—they ought not to have been separated." "If he had had the choice of all the preferments in his Majesty's gift, there is none," Vincent said, "that he should rather have had than the Deanery of Westminster."† One of the earliest publications of this great scholar was *A Sermon preached at St. Margaret's, Westminster, for the Grey Coat School of the parish*, 8vo., 1792—a discourse which was in fact a proclamation and defence of its author's strong conservative politics, and was printed at the request of the Association against Republicans and Levellers, by whom, it is said, about 20,000 copies of it were distributed. But it was as an oriental geographer that Dr. Vincent's fame was established. His works on ancient commerce and navigation are monuments of profound

* Dr. Vincent married at St. Margaret's, on 15, Aug. 1771, Hannah, (b. 3 Aug., 1735, baptized 21 Aug. following in St. John's Church), fourth daughter of George Wyatt, chief clerk of the Vote office, House of Commons. Died 17 Feb., 1807, and was buried in the Abbey.

† Stanley's *Memorials*,

scholarship. His celebrated commentary on Ossian's *Voyage of Nearchus* appeared in 1797, and his *History of the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean* in 1807. The former work was translated into French on the express authority of Napoleon Buonaparte. The Dean's second son, George Giles Vincent, was educated at Westminster school, and became chapter clerk in 1803; he died 28th January, 1859, and was buried in the Abbey. An admirable engraving of Dr. Vincent appears as a frontispiece to Vol. I. of Ackermann's *History of Westminster Abbey*.

Lord Albemarle, tells us in his *Fifty Years of my Life* that Tothill-fields was the Westminster play-ground in his time. "In one part of the field was a large pond called the 'duck.' Here we skated in the winter and hunted ducks in the summer. Near the 'duck' lived Mother Hubbard, who used to let out guns to the boys. At Mother Hubbard's you might have fowling pieces of all sorts and sizes, from the 'golden touch-hole' down to one which, from a deep dent in the barrel, was called 'the gun which shoots round the corner.'

"The big fellows use to vapour about having shot snipe in Tothill-fields, but such a description of game had taken flight when I sported over this manor.

"Leading from Tothill-fields was a road called the 'Willow-walk,'* which, terminating at the 'Half-penny Hatch,' opened on to the Thames near to the spot on which Millbank Penitentiary now stands.

"The road on each side was bordered by wretched hovels, to which were attached small plots of swampy ground which served the poor inhabitants for gardens, and were separated from each other by ditches. To 'follow the leader' over these ditches was one of our summer amusements." (See page 32.)

* Willow-walk was identical with the present Warwick-street.

The reader will be the more gratified if Lord Albemarle be allowed to proceed in his own good-humoured entertaining way to tell a further anecdote of the history of these fields :—

“Some little time ago, as I was talking over the changes of the Tothill-fields of our time with my old school-fellow Lord de Ros,* he related to me how these same back slums of Westminster were once honoured with the presence of the most gorgeous of monarchs, and on the most gorgeous day of his reign—the Coronation day of George the Fourth.

“I need hardly mention that while the sound of trumpets and firing of cannon announced that the newly-crowned king was receiving the homage of the nobles of England in Westminster Hall, there were assembled outside its walls large multitudes of his lieges, who were expressing by hooting and yells their indignation that the Queen Consort had not been admitted to her share in the pageant.

“This feeling had so increased towards the evening that the King was told if he attempted to return to his palace by the ordinary route, he would run the risk of being torn to pieces by the mob.

“To avert this danger, it was suggested that Tothill-fields would be the safer way home. But who knew anything of a region of such ill repute? Who but my school-fellow Lord de Ros, then a lieutenant of Life Guards, and forming that day one of his Majesty’s escort?† To him was consigned the pilotage of the Royal *cortége* ; under his guidance it proceeded up Abingdon-street, along Millbank-street, *through the Half-penny Hatch* and the Willow Walk, leaving the “Seven Chimneys” on its right. It next arrived at “Five Fields,” now Eaton-square, passed through Grosvenor-place and by Constitution-hill to the back entrance of Carlton Palace,

*William, Baron de Ros, a Privy Councillor, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 4th Hussars, Lieutenant-Governor of the Tower ; died in 1874.

† The escort was furnished by the first regiment of Life Guards. The officers were :—Major Henry Cavendish, Captain Oakes, Lieut. Hon. William Fitzgerald de Ros, Cornet Locke.

which they did not reach till eleven o'clock at night. The King, as well as might be supposed, was horribly nervous, and kept constantly calling to the officers of the escort to keep well up to the carriage windows."

Mr. W. J. Thoms, writing in the editorial chair of *Notes and Queries* of the 16 June, 1887, takes the occasion of correcting the two topographical errors (marked in italics) made by Lord Albemarle, for giving many historical particulars concerning the locality :—

"Before noticing the two topographical errors in the foregoing passage, which I have marked in italics, one word as to the popular feeling on George IV.'s coronation day. I have no doubt that in many parts of the metropolis it was as Lord Albemarle describes it. But the queen's injudicious conduct in trying to gain admission to the Abbey was disapproved by large masses of the spectators. I was in a gallery erected in St. Margaret's Churchyard, just opposite to the Sessions House, when she passed. I had, from the corner of Parliament Street, seen her entrance into London amidst the shouts of the people. I was strongly opposed to her, but I was deeply pained at the reception she met with on that Coronation morning. Whatever were her errors, she was a queen and a lady, and the groans and hisses she then met with pained and disgusted me ; and, I should say more, those signs of disapprobation were met by very few counter cheers. In the evening I saw, in Abingdon Street, Great George Street, and the Birdcage Walk, many amusing incidents too long to tell here, but none indicative of any ill feeling on the part of the public, either towards the king personally or to those who had assisted at the day's proceedings.

The key to Lord Albemarle's mistake is to be found in a passage a page or two before that which has just been quoted, where he says, "Leading from Tothill Fields was a road called 'The Willow Walk,' which, terminating at the Half-penny Hatch, opened on to the Thames near to the spot on which Millbank Penitentiary now stands." Now the "Halfpenny Hatch" led from Tothill Fields on to Millbank, about a hundred feet south of the Penitentiary wall, partly through a market garden and partly through a walk bordered on each side by a filthy ditch edged with stunted willows, and it came out by the Ship public-house, of which the landlord was named Gulston ; and the line of the old Halfpenny Hatch is to this day marked by a row of miserable cottages, still called "Gulston's Cottages," which lead to Ponsonby Place, and so on to Millbank ; and as the name of mine host of the Ship is preserved in the cottages, so when his hostel was pulled down to make a carriage-way access to Vauxhall Bridge, his hostel, the Ship, was removed to Millbank Row where it has been moored ever since.

Now, *the* "Willow Walk" which George IV. drove through on July 19, 1821, and which probably had never before been visited by royalty, unless, perhaps, by the merry monarch on a visit to old Madame Gwynn at her house by the Neate Houses, occupied the site of Warwick Street, running south-west by west from "Fields," being, in fact, a continuation of Rochester Row, and ending at the "Monster Tea Gardens," which were on the site of the old garden of the monastery (hence its name), and had on one side the remains of its ancient wall.

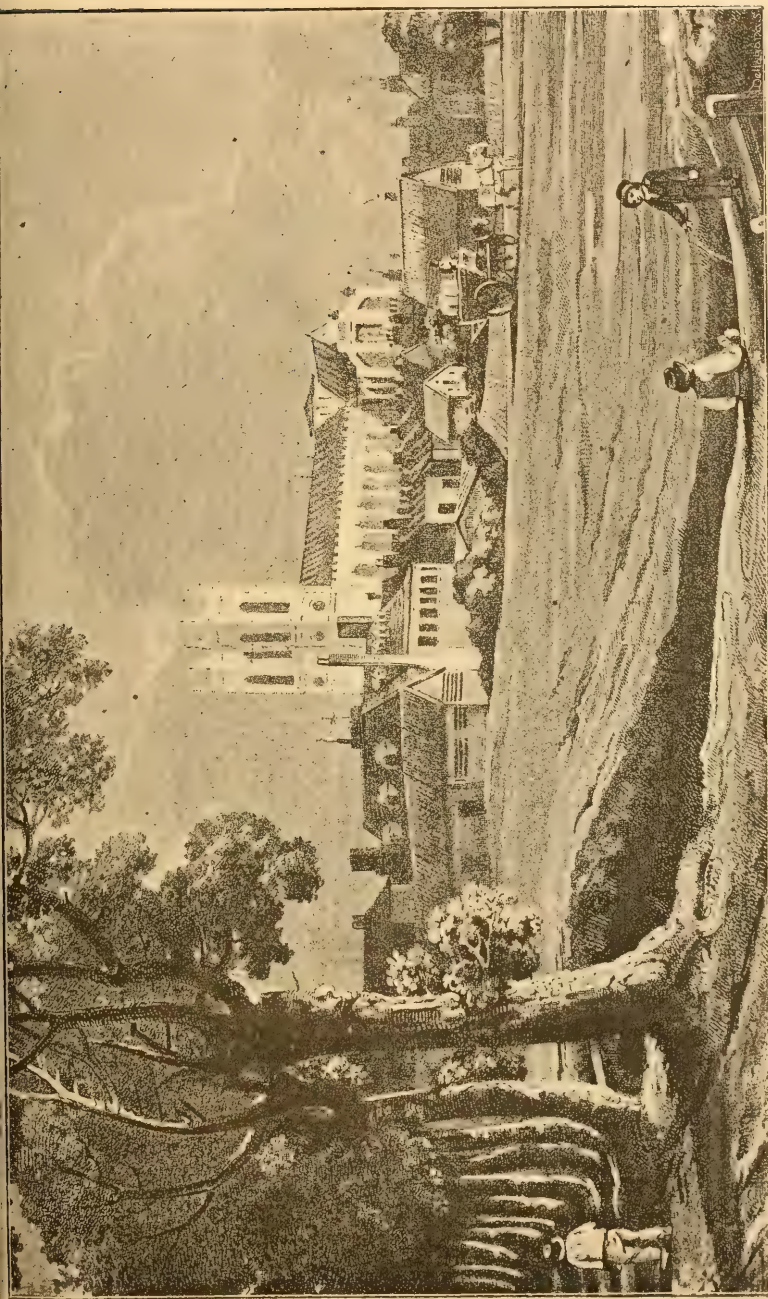
The Willow Walk was wide enough for two carriages to pass. It was flanked on each side by a filthy ditch, the filth hidden by the duck-weed, and on each side of the ditch a thick row of pollard willows; and about half way along on the left side, going towards "The Monster," stood the tumble-down hovel in which poor Slender Billy, whose melancholy story is well told by Lord Albemarle, provided dog fighting and badger baiting for the lovers of those sports.

But, though wide enough for a carriage, it was never so used, being blocked at either end by a very primitive stile, namely, two large trunks of trees laid lengthways, and supported each on three or four short stumps, and so overlapping each other that only foot passengers could pass through the narrow opening.

The road by which the king returned to Carlton House—and if the state of public feeling had something to do with its selection, the crowded state of Parliament Street, George Street, and the Birdcage Walk, which were crammed with carriages, might well have had some influence—was through Abingdon Street to Millbank, down the Vauxhall Bridge Road (the bridge was 'opened in 1816), and over the Sewers Bridge to the Willow Walk, thence over the wooden bridge at Chelsea, and, as I understood, down Belgrave Place, past the Queen's Riding School, as it was called, and into St. James's Park at Buckingham Gate.

In coming down Vauxhall Bridge Road the king passed on his right hand the old pest-houses, known as the *Five Chimneys*, not "*Seven Chimneys*." The site where they stood was, till very recently, known as Five Chimney Court, but is now changed into Douglas Gardens. The spot is memorable for one thing which may interest Lord Albemarle. Coombes, the renowned champion of the Thames, whose monument in Brompton Cemetery attracts almost as much attention as that of another champion, Jackson, was born in one of the group of those tumble-down houses (of which I have a pretty pencil drawing) known as the Five Chimneys."

The spoliation of Tothill-fields was now at hand, and their surrender to the "voracious maw" of bricks and mortar became imminent. In April of 1825, the Vestry of St. John's considered a Bill for draining, lighting, and improving Tothill-fields, which was approved of by the



View of St. John's parish, in 1807, taken from Tothill Fields.

From a Print in the Supplement to J. T. Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*.

Vestry, and steps were ordered to be taken to have "the backfields" included in the jurisdiction of the Commissioners to be appointed. Accordingly "an Act for paving, draining, cleansing, lighting, watching, and improving the Streets and Public Places which are *or shall be made* upon certain Grounds . . . commonly called Tothill Fields," was passed—the 6 Geo. IV., cap. 134. The first meeting of the newly formed Trust was held on the 18th July, 1825. The qualification of a trustee was the possession in his own right of an actual interest in lands, tenements, or hereditaments of a clear yearly income of £100, or of a personal estate of £5,000 over and above just debts. The meetings of the Trust were held at the "Regent Arms" public house. The 'facile art' of spending 'other people's money' was quickly learnt: a rate of 2s. was the first made; in 1827 it was 4s.; and, after twelve months' negotiation, £10,000 was borrowed of the Exchequer Loan Commissioners at five per cent. In October, 1826, £3 was paid to the constable "for attending the Collector of the Rates round the District to enforce the rates,"—an item that, like murder, speaks 'with most miraculous organ.'

But the new Trust had an Augean stable to clean—and it would not have been the first time in history if the hand of reform were resented by those whose very benefit was in solicitous regard. No streets were lighted, and Regent-street and Chapter-street were in so ruinous and dangerous a state, as to occasion presentments by the Annoyance Jury. The Trustees quickly set to work; Regent-street was first paved and lighted (except where done by occupiers) in 1826, and carriageways and footways were first formed in Fynes-street, Chapter-street, Carey-street, Vincent-square, Hide-place, Cobourg-row, and Vincent-street. Regent-street was repaved in 1848 at a cost of £3,100; the footway was not to be less than 8ft. wide. In January of 1831, Mr. John Lettsom Elliott—the *doyen* of all who have taken any part in Westminster's self-government—was elected on

the Trust. The mention of Mr. Elliott's name, who is happily still amongst us—

His hair just grizzled
As in a green old age—

DRYDEN.

brings forcibly home to us that within living memory there were open ditches in Cobourg-row, Causton-street, and Garden-street, which were this year (Nov. 1831) ordered to be cleared, and “the slop in Cobourg-row banked up at the side of the open ditch.” This ditch was made a covered sewer in 1838. Neither in 1836 nor in 1843, we learn from the minute-books of the Trust, was any part of their district watered; in the latter year complainants were told that they might remedy the matter by subscription among themselves. In 1832, the toll bar at the Vauxhall-bridge-road end of Rochester-row was removed, and in 1850 that at the junction of Chapter-street and Vauxhall-bridge-road.

An essay which pretended, however imperfectly, to sketch the history of Tothill-fields, would be incomplete if all reference to Tothill-fields Bridewell, or its successor, Tothill-fields Prison, were omitted. Without allowing, therefore, the boundary of St. John's Parish to offer an insurmountable barrier, we will at once proceed to state that the old House of Correction, occupied a site adjoining the north side of the Green-coat Hospital, in Palmer's Village.* The site of the school is now occupied by the Army and Navy Auxiliary Stores, so that the Bridewell may be roughly said to have stood between Spencer-place and Howick-place. It is very probable, therefore, that the hospital and its next-door neighbour, the Bridewell, were originally joint parish institutions, and amongst the earliest built for carrying out the provisions of the Poor Law.

The Vestry actively interested themselves for well nigh two hundred years in the prison accommodation in the parish. The older of the two establishments—the Gate

* The Hospital stood in St. Margaret's-passage, now (1892) recently closed and built upon by an extension of the Stores premises.

House*—was erected by Walter de Warfield, the cellarer or butler of the Abbey, in the reign of Edward III. (1327). It was conducted by a lessee of the Dean and Chapter as a speculation, the proprietor being dependent on the prisoners' fees, and was demolished, owing to its ruinous condition, in 1776-7, a victim to the well-founded indignation of Dr. Johnson.

The inconvenience of the system of maintenance by fees, and the exorbitant amounts charged at times, elicited remonstrances from the Vestry so late as 1727. The Tothill-fields Bridewell was erected in 1618† by the local Justices as a House of Correction for offenders within their jurisdiction. So long as its use was limited to local purposes, the cost of maintenance was borne by the local rates in the proportion of two-thirds by the parish of St. Margaret, and the remaining third jointly between the parishes of St. Martin-in-the-Fields and St. Clement Danes.

Seymour (1735) thus describes the prison: "Adjoining to this Hospital is Bridewell; a Place for the Correction of such idle and loose Livers as are taken up within this Liberty of Westminster, and thither sent by the Justices of the Peace for Correction, which is whipping, and beating of Hemp (a Punishment very well suited to Idleness); and are thence discharged by Order of the Justices, as they in their wisdom find occasion. The keeper of this Bridewell is Mr. Reading."

Northbrooke (1760) thus refers to it:—"By Tothill-fields is a house of correction for loose and disorderly persons; which, like all other prisons of the like nature, is called a Bridewell, after the London house of correction in the antient palace of that name." The prisoners were employed in the 17th century in the manufacture of hemp.

* For interesting notices of this historic prison, see Walcott's and Dean Stanley's *Memorials*.

† Hatton.

The agreement* with the first keeper of the prison (Richard Betts of Westminster, hempdresser) provides for "a stock to bee by him employed and laid out in hempe as well for himself and his servants to worke upon as for the Prisoners to bee thither sent or committed."

Sir Richard Steel mentions the Bridewell, concerning which also the *Town Spy*, published in 1725 quaintly remarks: "In the fields of this parish stands a famous factory for hemp, which is wrought with greater interest than ordinary, because the manufacturers enjoy the fruits of their own labour, a number of English gentlemen having here a restrain put upon their liberties."

Early in Queen Anne's reign the Bridewell became a common gaol for criminals, and not alone a place of detention for vagrants. The Gate House prison was removed, as already stated, in 1777, in consequence of which the Bridewell was enlarged in 1778. Perhaps it was the result of these alterations that the Bridewell was much better than the generality of prisons of the time, of which Crabbe has given us a vivid idea in the lines descriptive of the then state of the common gaols—

. where the very sight
Of the warm sun is favour and not right;
Where all we hear or see the feelings shock,
The oath and groan, the fetter and the lock;

for the philanthropic Howard described it in unqualified terms (1777) as being "remarkably well managed," at that period, and held up its enlightened and careful keeper, one George Smith, as a model to other Governors. On the face of the building over the gate was this inscription:—

"Here is several sorts of work for the poor of this parish of St. Margaret's Westminster; as also correction according to law for such as will beg and live idly in this City of Westminster. Anno 1655."

* An abridgment will be found at page 160 of *Local Government in Westminster*, 1889.

In 1826 the erection of a new prison was decided upon, and an Act obtained for the purpose. An adjoining site farther west was chosen, and eight acres of land were purchased for £16,000. The designs were furnished by Mr. Robert Abraham, and the building which cost about £200,000, was first occupied by prisoners in June, 1834; soon after which the old prison was pulled down, and the stone bearing the above description was built into the garden wall. This building consisted of three distinct prisons, constructed alike, on Bentham's 'panopticon' plan in the form of a half wheel, a shamrock leaf or an ace of clubs, with a series of detached wings, radiating, spoke fashion, from a central lodge or 'argus.' It was considered to be one of the finest specimens of brickwork in the Metropolis. Seen from the outside it resembled a substantial fortress; in the inside a lodge stood midway in each of the three sides of the spacious turfed and planted court-yard. The entrance porch in Francis-street was formed of massive granite blocks, iron gate, portcullis, &c. In front was the governor's house, over which was built the chapel, these forming a keep-like appearance. The prison held upwards of 800 inmates; the only labour employed was oakum-picking and the treadmill—

“ Compared with thee,
 What are the labours of that jumping sect,
 Which feeble laws connive at rather than respect !
 Thou dost not bump,
 Or jump,
 But *walk* men into virtue ; betwixt crime
 And slow repentance giving breathing-time,
 And leisure to be good ;
 Instructing with discretion demireps
 How to direct their steps.”

LAMB.

This fine prison was bounded by Francis-street, Morpeth-terrace, Ashley-place and Howick-place. It was demolished in 1884; Ambrosden-avenue, Thirleby-gardens, and the Parcels Post office now in course of erection, occupy part

of the site ; and it is said that a Roman Catholic Pro-cathedral for Westminster is to be built on the western part of the site. The primitive portal of the ancient Bridewell (it is no more than five feet ten inches high, and three feet wide) has been once more re-erected at the side of the north-east door of the 'Guildhall,' Broad Sanctuary. A painted inscription on a board affixed above the stone doorway reads—

Taken from the Gateway of the old Tothill Fields prison Westminster, Anno Domini 1836.

Another board affixed immediately under the stone lintel bears the inscription :—

Gateway lock and key of the principal entrance to the old Tothill Fields Prison Anno 1665,
Removed 1836. Erected here 1884.

It remains to be seen, however, whether these memorials of the public spirit of Westminster nearly three centuries ago, will be allowed to survive the rebuilding of the Guildhall now in progress.



CHAPTER XI.

THE HORSE - FERRY.

"Bring them, I pray thee, with imagin'd speed
 . . . to the common ferry."

MERCHANT OF VENICE.

To Richmond, Kingston, and to Hampton Court,
 Never again shall I with finny oar
 Put from, or draw unto the faithful shore ;
 And landing here, or safely landing there,
 Make way to my beloved Westminster.

HERRICK.

Take, O boatman, thrice thy fee ;
 Take, — I give it willingly ;
 For, invisible to thee,
 Spirits twain have crossed with me.

UHLAND.

The legend of St. Peter and Edric the fisherman.—Famous frosts.—
 The Ferry rates.—A Royal flight.—The Duke of Marlborough.—
 The wooden house.—Boats and boating.—Horseferry and Lambeth
 Regatta.—Westminster and Eton.—'A famous victory.'—Byron.—A
 promise of long standing.—Lambeth bridge.—The freeing of the
 bridges.—The water-works.

CENTURIES before the first London-bridge was built
 the Horse Ferry at Westminster was in existence.
 It was the only ferry ever permitted on the Thames at
 London town. Its history goes back into the mists of
 tradition. Perhaps some physical condition of the river
 banks on either side in the early times, when the river was
 not as it is now, may account for its antiquity. St. Peter
 himself, if we are to believe good Father Ailred, Abbot of
 Rievaulx, crossed here when he came to Westminster to
 consecrate the new church on Thorney Island with his own
 hands. It was in the year of our Redemption DCX, a
 dark, dreary night—so runs the legend as told by Walcott,
 Ridgway, and Dean Stanley—when the Long Ditch
 surrounding the island was swollen with exceeding great
 rain ; and the turbid Thames rolled downward rapidly,
 heaving with mighty waves, black and gloomy, save where

the lights from the old Palace momentarily flashed upon the tossing waters beneath. It was on a certain Sunday night in the reign of King Sebert, the eve of the day fixed by Mellitus, first Bishop of London, for the consecration of the original monastery. Above the wail of the hurtling wintry storm and the rushing stream, Edericus, a poor fisherman, who had been in vain casting his net from the shore of the island,—for the night was unpromising for his trade,—heard the voice of some benighted traveller calling aloud for a skiff to ferry him across safe from the wild waste of Lambeth marsh. ‘Some pilgrim, methinks,’ quoth he, ‘that hath tarried long by the way, would fain lodge with the holy monks; for the morrow, they say, shall the new Minster be hallowed that the good King Sebert hath lately built.’ so Edric launched his boat, and found a venerable stranger, in foreign garb, who offered him large reward to ferry him across to the convent buildings on the little island. Arrived after much toil in safety at the bank, ‘Watch, Edric, this night,’ said the traveller; and still through the fitful gusts the fisher could discern a strange glorious light kindling up each glowing window, and hear pulses of most sweet chant, as hosts of angels with sweet odours and flaming candles ascended and descended from heaven in continual succession. And then one solemn voice alone spoke last in the high festival within the sacred walls. The fisherman remained in his boat, so awestruck by the sight, that when the mysterious visitant returned and asked for food, he was obliged to reply that he had caught not a single fish. Then the stranger revealed his name: ‘I am Peter, keeper of the keys of heaven. When Mellitus arrives to-morrow, tell him what you have seen; and show him the token that I, St. Peter, have consecrated my own church of St. Peter, Westminster, and have anticipated the Bishop of London. For yourself, go out into the river; you will catch a plentiful supply of fish, whereof the larger part shall be salmon.

This I have granted on two conditions—first, that you never fish again on Sundays; secondly, that you pay a tithe of them to the Abbey of Westminster.’ A bright cloud passed before him, and Edric was alone. The next day at noon, in solemn pomp, with priest and monk, and citizen and mighty captain, King Sebert and the Bishop entered the western gates. At the door they were met by Edric with the salmon in his hand, which he presented ‘from St. Peter in a gentle manner to the Bishop.’ He pointed out the marks of ‘the twelve crosses on the church, the walls within and without moistened with holy water, the letters of the Greek alphabet written twice over distinctly on the sand, ‘the traces of the oil, and (chiefest of the miracles) the droppings of the angelic candles.’ The Bishop returned from the church satisfied that the dedication had been performed ‘better and in a more saintly fashion than a hundred such as he could have done.’ Henceforth, until the year 1382, eight hundred years afterwards,* whenever the monks of St. Peter’s Abbey kept annual memory of that unknown visitant, a humble fisherman sat high with the chiefest there—by the Prior’s side—and offered the tithe of his net’s produce at the monastery gate.†

In 1269 “from St. Andrew’s Tyde to Candlemas, men and beasts passed afoote from Lambeth to Westminster;” and at Christmas, 1282, after another severe frost and snow, men “passed over the Thames between Westminster and Lambeth dryshod.” In 1515, too, carriages passed over on the ice. But perhaps the most rigorous visitation of severe weather was at the time of Frost Fair, in 1683-4, which has quite a literature of its own.

“I’ll tell you a story as true as ’tis rare.

Of a river turn’d into a Bartlemy Fair.

Since old Christmas last,

* Neal’s *Westminster*.

† Dean Stanley’s *Memorials*; Walcott’s *Memorials*; Ridgway’s *Gem of Thorney Island*.

There has bin such a frost,
That the Thames has by half the whole nation bin crost.
O scullers ! I pity your fate of extreems,
Each landsman is now become free of the Thames.'

John Evelyn's *Diary* gives us an interesting and minute account of this most famous and be-versed of all Frost Fairs:—

1683-4, Jan. 9. . . . So I went from Westminster-stairs to Lambeth, and dined with the Archbishop. . . . After dinner and discourse with his Grace till evening prayers, Sir George Wheeler and I walked over the ice from Lambeth-stairs to the Horse-ferry.

Jan. 24.—The frost continuing more and more severe, the Thames before London was still planted with booths in formal streets, all sorts of trades and shops furnished, and full of commodities, even to a printing press, where the people and ladies took a fancy to have their names printed, and the day and year set down when printed on the Thames; this humour took so universally, that it was estimated the printer gained £5 a day, for printing a line only, at sixpence a name, besides what he got by ballads, &c. Coaches plied from Westminster to the Temple, and from several other stairs to and fro, as in the streets, sliding with skates, a bull-baiting, horse and coach races, puppet-plays and interludes, cooks, tippling, and other lewd places, so that it seemed to be a bacchanalian triumph, or carnival on the water, whilst it was a severe judgment on the land, the trees not only splitting as if lightning-struck, but men and cattle perishing in divers places, and the very seas so locked up with ice, that no vessels could stir out or come in. The fowls, fish, and birds, and all our exotic plants and greens, universally perishing. . . . London, by reason of the excessive coolness of the air hindering the ascent of the smoke, was so filled with the fuliginous steam of the sea-coal, that hardly could one see across the streets, and this filling the lungs with its gross particles, exceedingly obstructed the breast, so as one could scarcely breathe. Here was no water to be had from the pipes and engines, nor could the brewers and divers other tradesmen work, and every moment was full of disastrous accidents.

Feb. 5.—It began to thaw, but froze again. My coach crossed from Lambeth to the Horse-ferry at Millbank, Westminster. The booths were almost all taken down, but there was first a map or landscape cut in copper representing all the manner of the camp, and the several actions, sports, and pastimes thereon, in memory of so signal a frost.

In the autumn of 1600, the ambassadors of Morocco and Barbury crossed the river here, on their way to Nonsuch Palace, to pay a visit to Good Queen Bess.

Severe frosts occurred in the years 1709, 1715-6, 1739, 1767, 1788, 1811, and 1814. In the Crowle *Pennant*

is a coarse bill, containing within a wood-cut border of rural subjects, "Mr. John Heaton, printed on the Thames at Westminster, Jan. the 7th, 1709."

"The ice was here, the ice was there,
The ice was all around ;
It cracked and growled, and roared and howled
Like noises in a swound !"

COLERIDGE.

"1813-14, Great frost, commenced Dec. 27 with a thick fog, followed by two day's heavy fall of snow. During nearly four weeks' frost, the wind blew almost uninterruptedly from the north and north-east, and the cold was intense. The river was covered with vast heaps of floating ice, bearing piles of snow, which (Jan. 26-29), were floated down, filling the space between London and Blackfriars Bridges ; next day the frost re-commenced, and lasted to Feb. 5, uniting the whole into a sheet of ice. Jan. 30, persons walked over it ; and Feb. 1, the unemployed watermen commenced their ice-toll, by which many of them received 6£ per day. The Frost Fair now commenced ; The street of tents called the City-road, put forth its gay flags, inviting signs, and music and dancing : a sheep was roasted whole before sixpenny spectators, and the 'Lapland mutton' sold at a shilling a slice ! Printing presses were set up, and among other records was printed the following :—

FROST FAIR.

Amidst the Arts which on the Thames appear,
To Tell the wonders of this *icy* year,
Printing claims prior place, which at one view
Erects a monument of That and You.

Printed on the River Thames, February 4, in the
54th year of the reign of King George III. *Anno*
Domini, 1814.

One of the invitations ran thus :—

You that walk here, and do design to tell
Your children's children what this year befell,
Come by this print, and then it will be seen
That such a year as this hath seldom been."*

Mr. John Lettsom Elliott, one of the few survivors of that memorable period, delights to narrate his personal recollections of the river under this frost, as he saw it from the Westminster shore.

Hatton, in his *New View of London* (1708) mentions the "Ferry over from Westminster to Lambeth and the contrary for Passengers, Horses, Coaches, &c., daily"; and gives the rates then paid :—

For a man and horse	...	...	...	2
For horse and chaze	...	...	...	1 0
For a coach and 2 horses	...	...	...	1 6
For a coach and 4 ———	...	...	...	2 0
For a coach and 6 ———	...	...	...	2 6
For a cart loaden	...	...	...	2 6
For a cart or waggon, each	...	...	...	2 0

The proprietors are Mr. Cole and 2 or 3 others.

In the curious *London Directory of 1677* (republished 1878 by Messrs. Chatto and Windus) we find the names of

Mr. Clark, by the Horse Ferry, Westminster.

Mr. Dawes, Horse Ferry, Westminster.

Mr. Norder, the Horse Ferry, Westminster.

—evidence of the importance of the place even at that early date.

Here, on the 9th of December, 1688, Mary of Modena, the ill-starred Consort of James II., having quitted Whitehall for the last time under the charge of Antonine, Count of Lauzun (a brave French nobleman, to whom alone, of all his courtiers, the King thought he could entrust his Queen and little son), stepped into the boat that was to convey her across the river to Lambeth. Lord Macaulay has graphically described the momentous event:—

"Lauzun eagerly accepted the high trust which was offered to him. The arrangements for the flight were promptly made; a vessel was ordered to be in readiness at Gravesend; but to reach Gravesend was not easy. The city was in a state of extreme agitation. No foreigner could appear in the streets without risk of being stopped, questioned and carried before a magistrate as a Jesuit in disguise. It was

therefore, necessary to take the road on the south of the Thames. No precaution which could quiet suspicion was omitted. The King and Queen retired to rest as usual. When the palace had been some time profoundly quiet, James rose and called a servant who was in attendance. 'You will find,' said the King, 'a man at the door of the ante-chamber; bring him hither.' The servant obeyed, and Lauzun was ushered into the royal bed-chamber. 'I confide to you,' said James, 'my Queen and my son; everything must be risked to carry them into France.' Lauzun, with a truly chivalrous spirit, returned thanks for the dangerous honour which had been conferred on him, and begged permission to avail himself of his friend Saint Victor, a gentleman of Provence, whose courage and faith had been often tried. The services of so valuable an assistant were readily accepted. Lauzun gave his hand to Mary. Saint Victor wrapped up in his warm cloak the ill-fated heir of so many kings. The party stole down the back-stairs and embarked in an open skiff. It was a miserable voyage. The night was bleak: the rain fell; the wind roared; the water was rough; at length the boat reached Lambeth, and the fugitives landed near an inn, where a coach and horses were in waiting. Some time elapsed before the horses could be harnessed. Mary, afraid that her face might be known, would not enter the house. She remained with her child, cowering for shelter from the storm, under the tower of Lambeth Church, and distracted by terror whenever the ostler approached her with his lantern. Two of her women attended her, one who gave suck to the Prince, and one whose office was to rock the cradle; but they could be of little use to their mistress, for both were foreigners who could hardly speak the English language, and shuddered at the rigour of the English climate. The only consolatory circumstance was that the little boy was well, and uttered not a single cry. At length the coach was ready. Saint Victor followed it on horse-

back. The fugitives reached Gravesend safely, and embarked in the yacht which waited for them. . . . The yacht proceeded down the river with a fair wind ; and Saint Victor, having seen her under sail, spurred back with the joyful news to Whitehall."

M. de Lauzun himself tells us, in his account of the Queen's escape, that, in order "to prevent suspicion, I had accustomed the boatmen to row me across the river of a night, under pretence of a shooting expedition, taking cold provisions and a rifle with me to give it a better colour." The next day the caitiff king determined to follow.

"The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London were summoned to attend the King. He exhorted them to perform their duties vigorously, and owned that he had thought it expedient to send his wife and child out of the country, but assured them that he would himself remain at his post. While he uttered this unkingly and unmanly falsehood, his fixed purpose was to depart before daybreak. Already he had entrusted his most valuable moveables to the care of several foreign Ambassadors. His most important papers had been deposited with the Tuscan minister. But before his flight there was still something to be done. The tyrant pleased himself with the thought that he might avenge himself on a people who had been impatient of his despotism, by inflicting on them at parting all the evils of anarchy. He ordered the Great Seal and the writs for the new Parliament to be brought to his apartment. The writs he threw into the fire. Some which had been already sent out he annulled by an instrument drawn up in legal form. To Faversham he wrote a letter which could be understood only as a command to disband the army. Still, however, he concealed, even from his chief ministers, his intention of absconding. Just before he retired he directed Jeffreys to be in the closet early on the morrow, and while stepping into bed, whispered to Mulgrave that the news from Hungerford was highly satisfactory. Everybody

withdrew except the Duke of Northumberland. This young man, a natural son of Charles the Second by the Duchess of Cleveland, commanded a troop of Life Guards, and was a Lord of the Bedchamber. It seems to have been then the custom of the court that, in the Queen's absence, a Lord of the Bedchamber should sleep on a pallet in the King's room ; and it was Northumberland's turn to perform this duty.

"At three in the morning of Tuesday, the eleventh of December, James rose, took the Great Seal in his hand, laid his commandson Northumberland not to open the door of the bedchamber till the usual hour, and disappeared through a secret passage. . . Sir Edward Hales was in attendance with a hackney coach. James was conveyed to Millbank, where he crossed the Thames in a small wherry. As he passed Lambeth he flung the Great Seal into the midst of the stream, where, after many months, it was accidentally caught by a fishing net and dragged up.

"At Vauxhall he landed. A carriage and horses had been stationed there for him ; and he immediately took the road towards Sheerness, where a hoy belonging to the Custom House had been ordered to await his arrival.

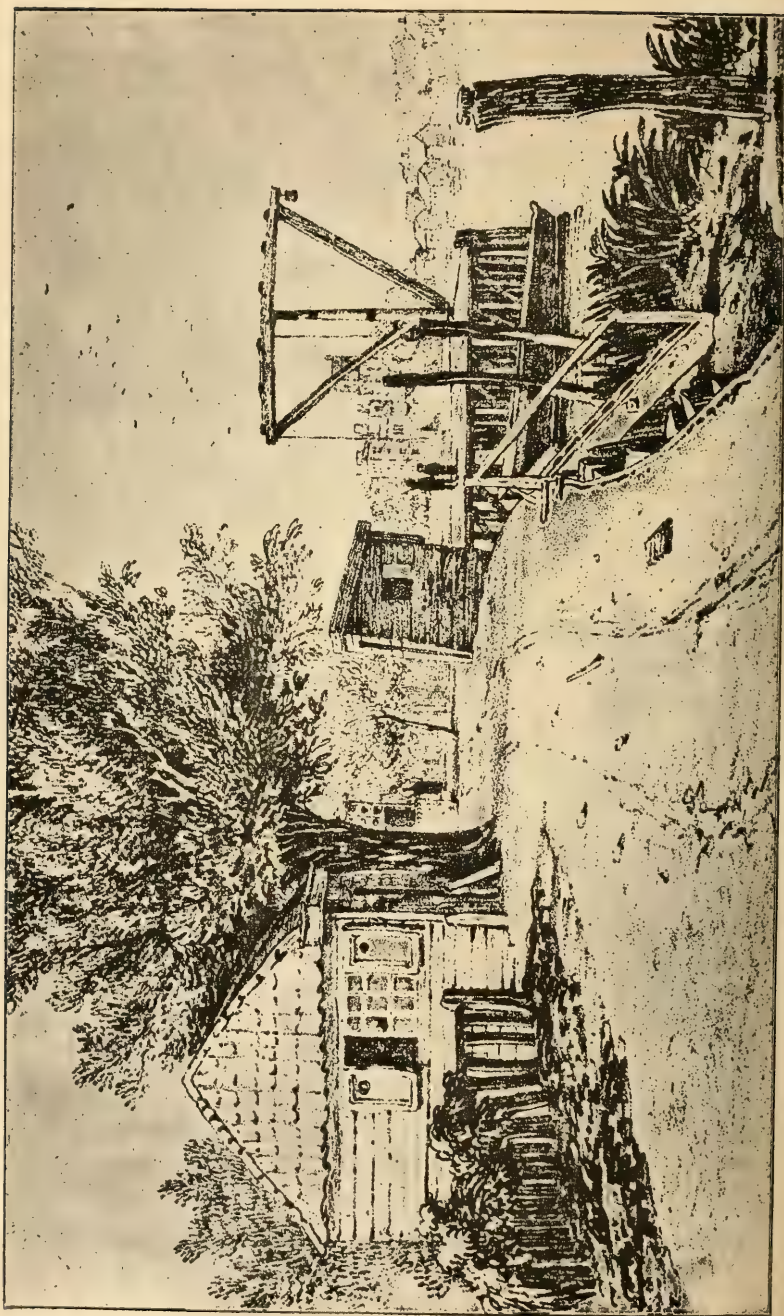
"Northumberland strictly obeyed the injunction which had been laid on him, and did not open the door of the royal apartment till it was broad day. The antechamber was full of courtiers who came to make their morning bow, and with Lords who had been summoned to Council. The news of James's flight passed in an instant from the galleries to the streets ; and the whole capital was in commotion."

Old and New London makes mention of a curious print of the time representing the boat in which the Queen effected her escape as in no little danger, and the two gentlemen as assisting the rowers, who are labouring against wind and tide. "The Queen herself is seated by the steersman, enveloped in a large cloak, with a hood drawn over her

head: her attitude is expressive of melancholy; and she appears most anxious to conceal the little prince, who is asleep on her bosom, partially shrouded among the ample folds of her drapery. The other two females betray alarm. The engraving is rudely executed and printed on coarse paper; but the design is not without merit, being bold and original in its conception and full of expression. It was probably intended as an appeal to the sympathies of the humbler classes on behalf of the royal fugitives."

Very early one morning, in the days when Queen Anne 'reigned, but did not rule,' while the watermen were dreaming of fares when they should have been by the water-side, His Grace the Duke of Marlborough came up and desired to cross with his hounds. By good fortune, one Wharton chanced to be at hand; and the Duke rewarded him by obtaining a grant of the "Ferry-house" for him. Walcott, who relates the incident, states that the owner at the time of writing his *Memorials* (1849) was a descendant of the lucky ferryman.

On the opening of Westminster Bridge, the ferry, says Walcott, "was suppressed." No doubt the traffic became sadly diminished, but, as we learn from a work styled *Select Views of London and its Environs*, published in 1805, the ferry was still in use in the early part of the present century. Indeed, says *Old and New London*, it may be said to have continued more or less as a ferry down to the building of Lambeth Bridge in 1862. The Archbishop of Canterbury, whose property the ferry was, and who leased it out at a yearly rent of £20, received on the opening of Westminster bridge £3,000 compensation, which was funded in his name. The last person of importance who crossed at the Horse-ferry is generally supposed to have been the mother of George III., Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, on 27th April, 1736, on her way to be married to Frederick, Prince of Wales. A wooden house, Walcott tells us, was built here for a small guard which was posted



View of Millbank, looking towards the Horse-ferry, 1816.

From the Crace Collection of Prints, &c., at the British Museum.

during the troublous times of "the Usurpation." An engraving of the Horse-ferry about 1800, in *Old and New London*, shows this ancient wooden structure, which was in existence so recently as 1850, for Dickens makes mentions of it in *David Copperfield*, "There was, and is when I write, at the end of that low-lying street, a dilapidated little wooden building, probably an obsolete old ferry-house. Its position is just at that point where the street ceases, and the road begins to lie between a row of houses and the river."

The Horse Ferry and Millbank were at one time a great rendezvous for the pastime of boating, of which the scholars of Westminster School were especially fond. A plate by Mr. T. H. Shepherd in Jones's *Views in London**, (1829) shows pleasure boats and boat-houses scattered along the bank and beneath the willows, where any who would might have hired a boat for a quiet pull on the then pleasant water. In fact the boatbuilders here were, judging from the following "notice," the cause of serious obstruction on the highway flanking the Thames :—

Great complaints having been made by the Inhabitants of Millbank and streets adjacent of a Nuisance or Annoyance occasioned by your placing Boats or other Vessels on the Public footway on Millbank and suffering the same to remain there a considerable time as also of your working on such Boats or Vessels while on the public footway aforesaid which occasions great inconvenience and danger to the foot-passengers passing that way ; I am ordered by the Church Wardens and Vestry of the Parish of St. John the Evangst Westm^r to give you Notice, and I do hereby give you Notice to remove or cause to be removed all such Boats or other Vessels from off the public footway on Millbank and to discontinue such Nuisances or Annoyances in future. Dated the 9th day of July, 1812.

JOHN DANIEL,
Vestry Clerk.

JOHN SULLIVAN, WILLIAM HATTON, JOSEPH ROYAL, JONATHAN SAWYER,	}	Boatbuilders, Millbank.
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* *Metropolitan Improvements, or London in the Nineteenth Century*, published by Jones & Co., 1827-9.

The first Regatta ever witnessed in England, Walcott tells us,* was rowed from Westminster Bridge to Ranelagh-gardens, on June 20th, 1775. It seems strange to read of the "Horseferry and Vauxhall Regatta" which used to take place annually here within living memory. So recently as in 1840—we read in Colburn's *Calendar of Amusements*—"the arrangements made by the parochial authorities and others of the parish of St. John's, in getting up this regatta, are deserving of every encomium. The prizes, which bring into competition the watermen of Vauxhall and Westminster Horseferry, are really worth contending for—viz.: two excellent wherries, and various sums of money. A steamer is engaged for the accommodation of the subscribers." In *The News*, of the 8th August, 1812, the following interesting item is met with:—

"Vauxhall. On Wednesday, the Prize Wherry given by the Proprietor of these Gardens, was rowed for on the Thames by seven competitors. The race was attended by hundreds of boats filled with parties of ladies and gentlemen, the gaiety of whose appearance, contrasted with the dingy hue of *coal heavers*, *sweeps*, and their *belles*, who filled other boats and barges, had the most ludicrous effect. After a hard and sinewy contest the prize was obtained by a man of the name of Job Jones, to whom Mr. Simson, the manager of the Gardens, delivered the boat with an appropriate speech. In the evening this delightful place was crowded to excess with beauty and fashion."

With the scholars of Westminster School aquatic sports were, in point of fact, a matter of compulsion: at the commencement of the rowing season at the Ides of March, every new boy was ordered on the water, *nolens volens*. The earliest public aquatic performance of which there is any record took place in 1818, when a Westminster six-oared boat beat a six, manned by gentlemen of the Temple, in a race from Johnson's Dock to Westminster Bridge, by half a length. In 1825, a Westminster eight-oar (*The Challenge*) rowed from the Horse-ferry to Eton and back again—the whole distance being about 86 miles—in twenty-one hours, delays in locks and stoppages for refreshment occupying

* Appendix to "*Memorials*," p. 339.

seven. They started from the Ferry on the 23rd April, at 3.4 a.m., and went through Windsor-bridge at two o'clock in the afternoon. Having seen Eton, they returned to Staines (where they had lunched going down), dined, and arrived at the Horse-ferry again about mid-night. For "full and complete accounts" of the annual contests between Westminster and Eton, the reader must turn to the lively pages of *Bell's Life*. The first match was rowed on July 27, 1829, and the last on July 28, 1864. Needless to say, many a celebrated oarsman received his education at Westminster School. The stretch of water off Millbank, from Westminster to the Red House (a hostelry standing just where the L. B. and S. C. Railway bridge now crosses the Thames), or the Old Swan, by Battersea Bridge, being the usual destination. "To vary the monotony of always rowing merely for rowings'sake,"—relates the author of *Westminster School, Past and Present*—"scratch matches were occasionally got up. These races were sometimes pair-oar and sometimes four-oar; the course, either from Westminster-bridge to Battersea-bridge, or from Vauxhall-bridge to Battersea-bridge. . . . But all the rowing had one common aim, and that was to render the crew of our first eight the most effective possible." Mr. F. H. Forshall very fully describes the race of 1845, and the trials and privations of training for it. The course was from Barker's-rails to Putney-bridge, longer by a mile than that rowed by the Universities in their annual contest. The pink oars of Westminster won that year, the Eton boat being so far astern that it could not easily be distinguished, amidst the press and crowd of craft on the river. The excitement in Westminster was intense :—

Size and weight, so much talked of in these days as the University comes round, had been powerless to avert a crushing defeat. The race was won by one minute and five seconds, or about sixty boats' lengths. Then down the river, amidst fresh bursts of cheering from shore and boats, quickly and lightly we went along till we reached the landing place at the Horse Ferry. Up College Street we streamed with a

crowd of navvies and bargees as an escort, who made a tremendous noise, in view of the sixpences to be obtained, and the pots of porter to be drunk at our expense. Presently the stroke of the victorious Eight was hoisted on the shoulders of several big boys and carried round and round Dean's Yard, amidst deafening cheers which became hoarser and hoarser. Indeed, to some of the boys might be applied Virgil's description of the ghosts, who vainly tried to raise their war-cry in the presence of Æneas, but only produced the faintest squeak : "Inceptus clamor frustratur hiantes." Their voices were entirely gone. Talk of triumphs up the Capitoline Hill ! What Westminster boy on that night would have exchanged places with the greatest hero of ancient or modern times ? True but nine contributed to the victory, but we were one in heart, and the whole body rejoiced with its members.

On August 11, 1807, Lord Byron* succeeded in swimming from Lambeth over against the ferry through Westminster and Blackfriars-bridges.

The first boat propelled by steam power made its appearance on the Thames, and passed the ferry in 1816.

The ferry was the property of the Archbishop of Canterbury from time immemorial. It was in order to avoid the many accidents which were continually happening, by reason of the multitude of carriages and horses passing and repassing by the ferry, at all times and seasons, that, in 1734, several public-spirited gentlemen and noblemen, with the countenance of the Archbishop, raised among themselves the necessary funds to meet the expenses of plans and surveys, and presented a petition to the House of Commons in February, 1735, "to have a bridge erected at the Horse Ferry, or at such other place as the House should think fit." In 1736 and 1737 Acts were passed for building a bridge "at the Horse Ferry, or at any other place in the parish of St. Margaret or of St. John, Westminster." The money was raised partly by lotteries and partly by Parliamentary grants, and Westminster-bridge—the famous bridge of M. Labelye—was built at a site fixed, after great contention, at or near the old Wool-staple.

* The poet's remains, it may be mentioned, lay in state at 25, Gt. George-street (now the Institution of Civil Engineers) on the 9th and 10th June, 1824.

The effort to obtain the construction of the bridge on the site of the ferry having failed, "the Vestrymen, freeholders and principal inhabitants" of the parish endeavoured to obtain a widening and improvement of the approaches to the new bridge. The facts recited in their petition, which was adopted on 18th May, 1738, are interesting :—

*To the Right Honourable and Honourable the Lords
and others Commissioners for building a Bridge at
Westminster.*

The Humble Petition of the Principal Freeholders and Inhabitants
of the Parish of St. John the Evangelist.

Sheweth—

That your petitioners labour under very unhappy Circumstances with Regard to their Situation having no Communication with the other parts of the City and Liberty of Westminster but by such narrow and inconvenient Ways and Passages as render all Access to them very Difficult deprive them of the Advantages they might otherwise enjoy of Trade and Commerce and are as they conceive the Occasion that so many of their houses are uninhabited.

That your petitioners once flatter'd themselves with the hopes of having a Bridge at the Horse Ferry which would in a great Measure have remedied this inconvenience. But

That as the Wisdom of Parliament has now determined otherwise they alone remain excluded from all benefit that can accrue from the intended Bridge and have no prospect left of ever recovering themselves but by a more open Communication from the said Bridge into their Parish. This your Petitioners humbly conceive may be done in the most effectual Manner and at the least Expense by opening a broad Way from Old Pallace Yard to College Street at the place where Lindsey House and the Old Houses leading to the said Pallace on both sides of the Way now stand which likewise would be of great Use in parliament Time to His Majesty and the Members of both Houses who are now greatly streightened for Want of Room for their Coaches.

Your petitioners therefore most humbly hope that this Honourable Commission will take their Case into Consideration and grant them such Relief as in their Wisdom they shall judge most convenient.

And your Petitioners, &c.

The above petition is worth quoting *in extenso* inasmuch as it shows indisputably that Sir Samuel Brown's scheme, which was first propounded in 1830, was simply a revival

of what had been mooted a century previously. Moreover, the petition furnishes the reasons which eventually led up to the abolition of Lindsey or Dirty-lane, and the formation of the present Abingdon-street.

Charles Knight in his *Cyclopædia of London* (1833) makes reference, in speaking of the Horse-ferry, to a "proposal for another metropolitan bridge, to extend from the Horse-ferry to Lambeth stairs, beside the gateway of Lambeth Palace. It was to be called the Royal Clarence Bridge, and a Bill was brought into Parliament. But there the matter seems to have stopped, and is likely to remain ; so we must content ourselves, if we desire to cross the Thames here, with the same mode of conveyance which prevailed so far back as the seventh century." He goes on to say, "Those who may have occasion to cross the river by a wherry from the stairs at the foot of the fine old gateway of Lambeth Palace to Millbank on the opposite side, are landed on a shelving slope directly opposite the end of Market-street, and a little southward of the church of St. John the Evangelist. At the top of the slope stands a little wooden house ; that is the old ferry house. Directly opposite, some hundred yards or so from Lambeth Palace, is an opening to an obscure street, still known as Ferry-street ; and one, if not both, of the houses, which then formed considerable inns, still stand there, where travellers were accustomed to wait for the return of the boat, or for better weather than prevailed at the moment of their arrival, or to stay all night and sleep there if the day were far spent, and themselves somewhat timid. How primitive all this seems ! One can hardly be satisfied that we are really speaking of the Thames at Westminster, and a time so little removed."

It is singular to trace how the scheme for the oft-promised bridge at this spot hung fire, until the hope so long deferred must have made the local Vestry almost despair of ever seeing it realised. In 1830 the Vestry considered an application

from the promoters for the building of a new bridge, but that body submitted "no facts to warrant the Vestry to express any opinion." The project took some definite and tangible shape in 1844, when Sir Samuel Brown,* the first constructor of bridges on the principle of suspension, attended upon the Vestry with plans and models of a proposed suspension bridge, "to be erected on three equal arches extending from Market-street, Westminster, to Church-street, Lambeth," which were cordially approved of by the Vestry. Sir S. Brown died in 1852, and we hear nothing further of the matter till 1861, when a company composed of a small body of noblemen and gentlemen was formed to carry out the long-promised bridge at their own expense, trusting to its usefulness as shown by the tolls, to reimburse them for their outlay. For once in the history of bridge-building across the Thames, no opposition was offered to the project, a phenomenon to be accounted for by the fact that whereas the other bridges built across the Thames had proved to be financial failures, by reason of their initial costliness, Mr. Peter William Barlow, the engineer, undertook that this new structure should be completed from shore to shore for £30,000. This estimate for a foot and carriage traffic bridge was regarded by the engineering world at the time as almost ridiculous. The cheapest bridge ever built across the river had not cost less than £3 per superficial foot—the majority had cost nearly £10—but here was an offer to build one at less than a pound a foot ! Nevertheless, the bridge was built at a cost (including land, &c.) of less than £40,000.

The new bridge was opened on Monday afternoon, 10th November, 1862, at 3 o'clock, and was made free to the public for the first week by the generosity of the company

* Capt. R.N. and civil engineer 1776-1852; experiments made by him eventually led to the introduction of chain cables in the navy; 1817, patented his invention of chain bridges; constructed chain pier at Brighton, 1823, Hammersmith-bridge, &c.

as a sort of commemoration of the birth-day of the Prince of Wales. The tolls were $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for each person, and 2d. for each horse. This bridge has a total length of 1,040 ft., and a length between the abutments on the shore at either side of 828 ft. Its extreme width is 32 ft., which is divided into 20 ft. for roadway and 6 ft. for each of the footpaths, and its total height above high water mark is 21 ft. The rise or curve of the structure is 1 in 22 ft. on the bridge itself, and 1 in 20 ft. on the approaches. For such a steep rise the bridge itself should have given a greater headway than 21 ft.; but this would have involved an outlay in raising the approaches on either side, far beyond the moderate estimate. The suspension ropes are taken over four pairs of towers, two at either end resting on abutments of solid masonry, and two upon circular iron piers, 12 ft. in diameter, sunk 18 ft. below the river-bed. Over these towers the ropes—which were made by Newall & Co. on the works of the bridge itself of the best charcoal-iron wire—are carried, sustaining the bridge beneath in three spans of 280 ft. in length each. The anchorage in which all are finally secured is, on the Lambeth shore, where the ground is good, formed by massive iron holdfasts built into a solid masonry of concrete 20 ft. below the surface; and on the Westminster side, where the ground was little better than loose peat, the anchorage is made by a series of 12 square cast-iron caissons, each weighing seven tons, sunk into the gravel, and filled with concrete, so as to form one immense compact bed of iron and concrete 20 ft. below the surface. The platform of the bridge is hung from the cables by rigid lattice bars, and the novelty of the bridge consists in placing under it on each side a longitudinal tubular iron girder, with a cross girder between, so as to reduce to a minimum the upward, downward, and lateral movement. The footways on each side are carried on cantilevers projecting from beneath the roadway. Everything being made to do some duty in this singular bridge, the parapets of the footpaths

are formed of wrought iron lattice work, which in itself gives rigidity to the otherwise light paths. The roadway was paved with 'blocks of wood,' and the paving of the footways was formed of Portland stone from old Westminster-bridge, cut into neat thin slabs. The prevailing idea throughout the construction of the bridge was economy, so that to call it the ugliest and least convenient across the Thames is no disparagement of the architect. The company let the tolls for the first three years at the rate of ten per cent. upon the capital. *The Times* of the 11th November, 1862, commenting on the opening of the bridge, made the following apposite, if sanguine remarks: "Before Christmas next it is likely to be as much a recognised route for through communication as any of the bridges over the Thames, and, like all realised improvements, people will wonder how it was that they did so long without it. It is certainly not for the want of suggestions, practical or otherwise, that a bridge, or even bridges, have not been built here more than a century ago. Probably no part of the river has been more favoured by projectors than this locality, and not a few of the old maps of London are still to be found marked with the route of an intended bridge stretching from Lambeth Palace to the line of the Horseferry-road, Westminster. It most likely was the difficulties and delays of the old horse ferry at this spot that has promoted the idea which for years and years gone by was an architectural myth, only laid at rest by the completion of the ponderous structure at Westminster, now so beautifully replaced by the graceful lines and noble proportions of Mr. Page's new bridge. But when old Westminster fell into that chronic dilapidation and decay which made it at once an eye-sore and a danger, the notion of Lambeth-bridge again arose, all the fresher, apparently, from the long oblivion to which preceding schemes had been consigned."

There would seem to be little doubt *prima facie*, that the

bridge is practically that of Sir Samuel Brown, adapted and modified by the engineer who actually carried out the scheme. Mr. Peter William Barlow was the eldest son of Professor Barlow, the mathematician. In 1858 he investigated in great detail the construction of bridges of large span, especially with regard to stiffening the roadways of suspension bridges, and his valuable deductions were subsequently confirmed by Professor Rankine. In pursuance of these studies Mr. Barlow went to Niagara, in order to examine personally the great railway and road bridge erected there by Roebling, and on his return a company was formed for constructing a bridge across the Thames at Lambeth, of which he was appointed engineer. In this work he introduced diagonal struts in connection with the vertical ties by which the roadway is suspended, whereby a degree of stiffness was obtained nearly equal to that of girders of like span, and sufficient to enable large gas mains to be laid across the bridge without any leakage. During its construction, the process of sinking, or forcing into the clay, the cast-iron cylinders which form the piers, suggested to the engineer the idea that such cylinders could with facility be driven horizontally, and that tunnels could be made under rivers by this means in suitable soils. The Tower Subway was constructed in demonstration of the idea, which has since led to the formation of many similar works. Mr. Barlow died 19th May, 1885. At the time of his death he was the oldest member of the Institution of Civil Engineers.*

Lambeth and Vauxhall bridges were acquired by the late Metropolitan Board of Works in 1879 under the provisions of the Metropolis Toll Bridges Act, 1877. For Lambeth bridge the owners claimed £100,000, and the amount awarded by the arbitrator was £36,049; for Vauxhall bridge, the owners of which claimed £395,228, the arbitrator's award was £255,230. From the last report of

* *Proceedings*, Vol. 81, p. 321.

the late Metropolitan Board of Works we learn that the arrangements for the conveyance of these bridges, together with the Chelsea bridge, the Albert Suspension bridge, and Battersea bridge, were all concluded in May, 1879, whereupon "it was thought that a suitable day for abolishing tolls and opening the bridges free to the public would be the anniversary of her Majesty's birthday on the 24th of that month. It was also thought that it would be well to signalise by some public ceremony an event of so much interest to many of the inhabitants of London. Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales were accordingly asked to give the sanction of their presence to the proceedings, and to make the public declaration that the bridges were thenceforth dedicated to the free use of the people. To this their Royal Highnesses graciously consented. The inhabitants and the local authorities of the districts within whose limits the bridges were situated, did all in their power, by decorating the thoroughfares, and by assembling in large numbers along the line of the procession, to give the Prince and Princess—who were accompanied by their two sons, by the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh, and by the Crown Prince of Denmark—a hearty reception, and to show the pleasure which they felt at the kindness and interest manifested by their Royal Highnesses in taking part in the proceedings." *The Times*, of May 26, 1879, relates that the last toll was taken at 2.30 p.m., when the traffic over Lambeth bridge was suspended. The royal party (who had come from Pall Mall down Abingdon-street and Millbank-street, receiving a most warm welcome) crossed the bridge, at the southern end of which the address of the Metropolitan Board to their Royal Highnesses was duly read and responded to, when the Prince formally declared the bridge "open free for ever." The procession then continued its way along the Albert-embankment to the southern end of Vauxhall-bridge, where the Trustees handed the keys of the gates to Sir J. McGarel Hogg, and

the bridge was declared free for ever. The procession, crossing the bridge, passed along Grosvenor-road towards the Chelsea Suspension-bridge on its mission of emancipation—

“Which when the people
Had the full view of, such a noise arose
As the shrouds make at sea in a stiff tempest
As loud, and to as many tunes.”

KING HENRY VIII.

The Metropolitan Board of Works in their last year of office (1887) found it necessary to strengthen the abutments and anchorages of the structure, in consequence of the increased traffic, and placed iron gates at each end, so that it might be closed in case of anything occurring which would be likely to cause a dangerous overcrowding upon it. Two men were also appointed by the Board so that the bridge might be watched continuously both day and night. The London County Council now (1892) contemplate its reconstruction. Its extreme narrowness, its bad and steep approaches, and its weakness—only a limited number of vehicles are allowed to cross at a walking pace at one time—make it wholly inadequate for present-day requirements, and it may be safely anticipated that in a very few years time the present bridge will be replaced by a structure more worthy in every way of the historic site and the public needs.

The author of *Londinium Redivivum* (1807), tells us that there were “water-works near the Horse-ferry, *now the site of Westminster Bridge*,* for the supply of that part of Westminster.” Hatton, the antiquary, gives (1708) some interesting particulars of these water-works:—

Mill Bank Water : this is raised and laid into houses in the parish of St. Margarets Westminster from the Thames. The Water House is situated on the East side of Mill Bank, for which the proprietors, who are in number 5, had a patent granted them by K. Charles II. about the year 1673. Their stock and income is divided into 8 shares. The

* *Londinium Redivivum*, by J. Malcolm, p. 170, published 1807. Mr. Malcolm evidently thought that the Horse Ferry was to have been the chosen site for “Westminster-bridge.”

officers they have are a Manager, Collector, two horse-keepers, a turn-cock, a pavior, and a plumber. Rates at least are 10s. per Annum, but commonly 20s. and for Brewers and extraordinary occasions, more than so many pounds.

The right was sold in 1726 for fifteen years to the Company of Chelsea Water-works for £400 per annum. Strype's and Seymour's *Surveys* both mention this 'Waterhouse.' The Chelsea Water Works Company were established in 1722, and originally drew their supplies from the ponds in St. James's and Hyde-parks. In 1842 the Company applied separate works to the supply of the ornamental waters in Hyde-park, St. James's-park, and Buckingham-palace-gardens, and for watering the streets and roads in their district, thereby relieving the serious draughts made upon their filtered water for those purposes, and at the same time maintaining a constant circulation in the ornamental waters which would otherwise have been unhealthy stagnant pools. The Company's reservoirs were afterwards converted into the Grosvenor Canal, with its wharves and basin.



CHAPTER XII.

MILLBANK.

MILLBANK PRISON, VAUXHALL BRIDGE,
AND THE NEAT-HOUSES.

“ Not many weeks ago it was not so,
 But Pleasures had their passage to and fro,
 Which way soever from our Gates I went,
 I lately did behold with much content,
 The Fields bestrew'd with people all about ;
 Some pacing homeward and some passing out ;
 Some by the Bancks of Thame their pleasure taking,
 Some Sulli-hibs among the milk-maids making ;
 With musique some upon the waters rowing ;
 Some to the adjoining Hamlets going.”

Britain's Remembrancer.

“ Hath he borne himself penitently in prison ? How seems he to be touched ? ”
 MEASURE FOR MEASURE.”

The old Water Mill.—The Mill Bank.—Tidal Inundations.—Dangers of Millbank.—An aristocratic neighbourhood.—Peterborough House. A ‘ Joe Miller.’—The Dutch picturesqueness of Millbank.—Annual procession of coaches.—The distilleries.—First formation of wharves, and roadway opposite prison.—Dickens’ description of Millbank.—The Penitentiary.—Jeremy Bentham’s scheme.—The Prison’s history.—The Chartist rising.—Ponsonby-terrace.—Vauxhall Wharf.—Vauxhall-gardens.—Vauxhall Bridge.—The ‘ Neat Houses.’—Puss in a Parachute.

EVERY antiquary who has touched upon the matter is apparently agreed that the name of Mill Bank is derived from the old Abbey water-mill, built by the Abbot Nicholas Littlington (1362-1386) at the end of the present Great College-street, and turned by the stream which flowed down College-street by the Infirmary garden wall—‘ the dead wall,’ as it was called—eastward into the Thames. The Abbot’s Mill stood on the farther bank of the brook, called the Mill Ditch, which, says Dean Stanley, was crossed

by a bridge, still existing, though deep beneath the present pavement, at the east end of College-street.* The Abbots used to take boat on this stream to go to the Thames.† One of the Benedictine rules required that there should always be a mill attached to the Abbey. Mr. Timbs states that the Mill was standing in 1644, and is mentioned in an entry in the parish books of that year, when eleven shillings were paid to John Redwood “for charges upon sundrie indictments touching the bridge at the water-mill.”‡

This “Water-mill,” which may be safely regarded as the real sponsor of the locality, is marked on Norden’s plan, taken from his survey in 1573.

A “bank” may have been thrown up here as an attempt to prevent the inundation of the Fields behind: Walcott states that in the reign of Edward I. Tothill-fields were deeply under water. Stowe tells us that in 1242 the Thames so overflowed the banks “that in the great hall at Westminster men took their horses, because the water ran over all,” and that a few years previously (1236), “in the great palace of Westminster men did row with wherries in the midst of the hall, being forced to ride to their chambers.” Coming down to more recent times, we read in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, that on February 2, 1791:—

There was the highest flood-tide, on the river Thames, that has ever been remembered.

Above Westminster Bridge it overflowed the banks of the river on both sides, particularly at Millbank, when it came into the Horse-ferry Road, and carried away several logs of timber, &c. In Palace-yard it was near two feet deep; it also ran into Westminster Hall, so as to prevent people passing for two hours. Boats came through the passage of Old Palace-yard from the Thames, and rowed up to Westminster-hall gate. The inhabitants in Millbank-street were obliged to pass to and from their houses in boats.

The ground floor of Lord Belgrave’s house,§ and the garden were flooded two feet deep: as were almost all the gardens and nursery-grounds round Chelsea and Lambeth.

* Bardwell’s *Westminster Improvements*, p. 8.

† Dean Stanley’s *Memorials*, p. 338.

‡ *London and Westminster*, Vol. I., p. 149. § See page 354 post.

The locality was inundated by a similar overflow on 31st December, 1804, by which time the floor of Westminster Hall had been raised upon arches to prevent damage. Such overflows continued, but in a lesser degree, at the times of the 'spring tides,' until five-and-twenty years ago, since which time the works carried out under the Thames (Floods Prevention) Act, obtained by the late Metropolitan Board of Works, have contributed to the great relief of the district from the inconvenience.

An etching by J. T. Smith, in 1797, shows the existence of the embankment as an earthwork protected by huge planks laid roughly lengthwise next the river. Willows are growing slantwise over the embankment; a sailing boat is just putting off from the shore; and a party in a small boat are seen pulling over to the opposite side (*Crace collection of prints*, Brit. Mus., Portf. XIV. 2). The first sight of the picture recalls—

“Once more the distant shout
The measured pulse of racing oars
Among the Willows.”

TENNYSON.

Pennant informs us that, “in the time of Queen Elizabeth the shore correspondent to Lambeth was a mere marshy tract.” The thoroughfare along Millbank—if it can with justice be dignified by such a term—was, in common with other highways in the olden time, often in a most miserable condition. Towards the end of Elizabeth’s reign the people of Lambeth complained to the Secretary of State of the common nuisance arising out of the broken down “banck that leadeth from Westminster to the horse ferrie”; but the parish endeavoured to fix the liability to repair upon the proprietors of the ferry. From the Vestry minute book, commencing with the year 1591, the following selections are made as illustrative of the manner in which the business relating thereto was transacted:—

To my loving friendes the balie and Burgessie of the cittie of Westm’ter.

After my hastie comendation I send you here inclosed a peticion lately presented unto me by the inhabitantes of Lambeth whereby

you may perceive what it is they complaine of, for my owne parte I will impose nothing upon you in particular not knowing how farre you are tyed to satisfie them in their demandes Onlye in generall I have thought fitt to advise you to consider amongst y^r selves what is to be doone on y^r pte, which I wish forthwith to be performed. The rather for that it concerns the reperation of a comon Nusaunce whereof every man doth participate that have occasion to mak usse of the ferrie and I have heard it heartofore much complained of, though I am ignorant wheather it be y^r part to see reformation. And soe I bid you farewell fro the Court att Greenwich this 20th May 1602.

y^r Loving friend

ROB. CECILL.

The petition to which the foregoing letter to the Vestry relates and the reply are entered upon the minutes as follows :—

To the right Hon^{ble} Sir Rob. Cecill Knight, principall Seacretaire to the Queen's most excellent maiestie.

The Humble petition of Abraham Merrick and others the Inhabitaunces of Lambeth.

Whereas about ij yeares past a petition was delivered to y^r house toutingh the reperation of the banck that leadeth fro Westminster to the horse ferrie boate, which by y^r Honors good meanes was then somewhat mended, but yet in such slender manner as that the same is still in winter time in some places unpassable. And moreover the said banck is so exceedingly annoyed by reason of the milditch there adjoining and the spring tides, that if y^r Honor be not a meanes for redressee in this behaulfe, noe subject by any meanes can have passage that way. And for that the said banck is in the parish of Westminster, yor Supp^{ts} most Humblye beseeche yor Honor to cause the Surveior for the highways of Wesm^{re} aforesaid to whom it appertaineth that without delay they do repaire and amend the said bancke soe sufficiently that without danger or hindrance her maiesties subjects may have free passage. Wherein yor honor shall perform a very work and bind y^r Supp^{ts} to pray to God for your perpetuall happines.

Fro. the Bailiff & Burgesses, their answer to the Right Honorable Sir Robert Cecill, His letter sent unto them the 20th May, 1602.

Right Ho^{ble} Sr., humble duties remembered. Whereas Abraham Merricke and others the inhabitants of Lambeth, have been petitioners to yor Honor to cause the Surveiors for the high waies of Westminster to repair, & amend the banck that leadeth from Westminster to the horse ferrie boate. And whereas, yor honor hath directed your letter to us to consider amongste o^r selves

what is to be done on or parts, we have accordingly mett together & find the Inhabitance of Westminster have not beene chardged herewith heretofore, but they which have the profit of the ferrie which by due prooffe we are redy to show have heretofore usuallie repaired the said bancke. And have had license of the late Dean of Westminster by the mediation of frendes to dig gravill in Tuttell for the repaire thereof they both paieing for the digging & carriage thereof. And have at sundrie times brought furies & other stuff from Lambeth to repaire the same. The farmors of the ferrie have heretofore maid like suit unto yo^r Ho^{ble} deceased father who hath taken notice of their uniust request, & being satisfied therein gave them answer accordingly. Even soe with remembrance of o^r dutye to yo^r Honor, We humbly take our leave, Westminster, 31st May, 1602.

No improvement having been made during twelve months following this representation, the parishioners of Lambeth appealed to the Privy Council through the instrumentality of the Archbishop of Canterbury :—

To the reverend father in God the lo. Archbishop of Caunterberrie primat & metropolitan of all England & one of her maiesties most Ho^{ble} Privie Counsell.

Whereas we the Inhabitanteres of the parish of St. Ma^rgretts in Westminster have been chardged & required by Mr Deane of Westminster by the mediation of yo^r Grace to amend and repaire the banck that leadeth from Westminster to the horse ferrie the same bancke beinge very fowle & in great decay May it please yo^r Grace to be advertised that the said bancke hath not beene att any time repaired by the Inhabitanteres of Westminster but hath allways since it was first maid a way or passage to the ferrie been repaired and amended by those who have had the profit of the said ferrie as we can sufficiently prove by the testimonie of divers witnesses the same beinge noe ancient highway but was taken out of the close next adioying for the advantage of the ferrie and notwithstanding the ferriemen at severall times by their humble petition long since maid to the right Ho^{ble} the lo. Burghley late lo. Treasurer of England & since that time to the right Ho^{ble} the lo. Cecill have much importuned their lordships to cause the surveiors of high wayes in Westminster to repair the said bancke Yet it was soe plainly and evidently proved that the said Inhabitanteres weare not to be charged with the repairing of the said bancke as their Lordships weare therewith verie fully satisfied And now the said bancke is soe ill kept and maintained by the ferriemen as in the winter time it is not passable and therefore it doth proceed that the said ferriemen doth continew his chalinge & accusation against Westminster not for any hope or expectation he hath that the parishoners of Westminster can or ought or will intermedle

in the repairing thereof but that he may have a shadow or colour to excuse himself of his deserved blame which otherwise he can not excuse but by his uniuſt and wrongfull imputinge the fault to others And if the ſaid ferriemen or any others doe make any queſtion or doubt of the truth of the premiſſes we the ſaid pariſhioners are redie to make our iuſt defence by a tryall at the comon law whenſoeuer we ſhall be drawne thereunto Written and ſubſcribed by us the Inhabitanter of Weſtmiſter aforesaid
16th day of May, 1603

William Godard, Chriſtopher Ricrofte Ed Doubleday, Morris Pickering, Marmaduke Servant, Cutberd Linde, Tho Skinner, Rob. Goulding, Willia. Man, Tho Tickeridge

The like controverſie being betweene chelſey and batterſea for the ferrie there it was tried in the chequer chamber & there adiudged that the ferrieman having the profit on both ſides ſhould maintaine the ferrieway on both ſides which in chelſey having the profit maintaineth both the wayes.

Forty-five years later the liability to repair the Mill-bank was ſtill in queſtion, in conſequence of which a conviction was obtained againſt the pariſh :—

May 12, 1647.—Ordered that . . . the Churchwardens ſhall paie to Nicholas Wiſby twentie ſhillings for an amerſciament for not mending the Bridge at the Mill and that . . . Mr. Arnold ſhall have twentie ſhillings ald to him wh hee paid to Thoſ. Vincent for ſerving the place of Surveyor of the highwayes the laſt year in the ſtead of mr Ffuller who refuſed the place.

Indictments were alſo laid on account of the neglected ſtate of the approaches and other highways, and the opinion of counſel was taken :—

12th Auguſt, 1654. Whereas the pariſh has bene heretofore preſented for not repaireing the High wayes . . . and Whereas there are ſeverall preſentments upon this pariſh in Generall for not repaireing the Mill bridge wch is conſidered ought to be repaired & maintained by ſome pticuler Inhabitante adioyning to the ſaid Bridge It is ordered that the Churchwardens gett the ſtate of the caſe truely ſett downe and thereupon if they be ſoe adviſed by ſome Learned Counſell in the Lawe that they goe to a tryall for the ſame with all convenient ſpeed.

The Veſtry ſhortly afterwards raiſed money for repairing the highways, and proved, by obtaining the impoſition of fines, a deſire to carry out their obligations ſomewhat more readily.

Millbank was not only well nigh impassable ; it was full of dangers to the belated pedestrian. The bank and the off-lying Tothill-fields were a favourite skulking-place for the foot-pad, the highwayman, and the promiscuous cut-throat generally, where they might hide under the shadows of trees and bushes. Even in broad daylight there was no immunity from attack. The Vestry of St. John's regularly employed for many years a man called the Sunday watchman or constable, who was paid 5/- per week to conduct the people in safety to and from Church—

“ Like one that on a lonesome road
Doth walk in fear and dread,
And having once turned round, walks on
And turns no more his head.”

COLERIDGE.

Mr. James Malcolm, in his *London Redivivum* (1802-5), tells us that Lord Belgrave had a neat brick mansion within a pretty garden on the banks of the Thames at Millbank. “ Hence northward a row of respectable houses front the river lined with rubbish, boats, and old vessels ; whence to the House of Commons are many timber and coal yards.”

In the rate book for 1782 (St. John's parish), the first entry in respect of Millbank is that of Sir John Delaval's property, which was assessed at £100, but was written off ‘empty’ for that year. Here also lived Captain (afterwards Admiral) Ommanney ; his house was assessed at £40.

Millbank-street, Wallcott tells us, was in 1745 called the High-street at Millbank. Strype's *Stow* (1720), and Seymour's *Survey* (1735)—the latter being mostly a mere copy of the former—thus describe this ancient thoroughfare :—

“ The Mill-Bank, a very long place, which beginneth by Lindsey House, or rather by the Old Palace Yard, and runneth up into Peterborough House which is the farthest house. The part from against College Street unto the Horseferry hath a good row of buildings on the east side next to the Thames, which is most taken up with large woodmongers' yards and brewhouses ; and here is a waterhouse which heweth the end of the town ; the north side is but ordinary, except one or two houses by the end of College Street, and the part beyond

the Horseferry hath a very good row of houses much inhabited by gentry, by reason of the pleasant situation and prospect of the Thames. The Earl of Peterborough's house hath a large court-yard before it, and a fine garden behind it, but its situation is but bleak in the winter, and not over healthful, as being so near the low meadows on the south and west parts."

Londina Illustrata (Vol. II.), published in 1819, contains an excellent engraving of Peterborough House, afterwards Grosvenor House, on Millbank, and gives moreover the following interesting account of it :—

"This mansion considered for nearly two centuries as the last habitable house in West^r, was erected by John Mordaunt, first Earl of Peterborough, who was advanced to that dignity by letters patent, March 9, 1628, 3, Cha. 1. He was brought up (as were most of his family) in the Romish religion, but was converted by a disputation at his house between the learned Bishop Usher and a Papist ; the latter confessing himself silenced by the just hand of God on him, for presuming, without leave of his superiors, to dispute with the Bishop who was then only Dr. Usher.

The Mordaunt family were previous to this time bigoted Catholics and Henry, Lord Mordaunt, in the fourth of King James I., being suspected to have knowledge of the gunpowder treason plot, was, with Edward, Lord Stourton, and the Earl of Northumberland, committed to the Tower, where after some imprisonment, he and Lord Stourton being fined in the Star Chamber, June 3, 1606, were released ; but the Earl of Northumberland continued a prisoner for 15 years after. This Lord Mordaunt had to wife Margaret, daughter of Henry, Lord Compton, by whom he had issue John, who succeeded him, and became the founder of this house.

This House continued the property of the Peterborough family, until the demise of Charles Mordaunt, the 3rd Earl, which took place at Lisbon, Oct. 25, 1735. * [It then passed by purchase to Alexander Davis of Ebury, in the County of Middlesex, esquire, whose sole daughter and heiress, Mary, marrying Sir Thomas Grosvenor, Bart., in 1676, became mother of the late Sir Robert Grosvenor, who inherited this house, and all the rest of his vast property about London, in right of his said mother.] It has been erroneously stated, that this house was erected by Alexander Davis, in 1660 ; but Mr. Pennant informs us that here, in his boyish days, he had often experienced the hospitality of Sir Robert Grosvenor, and that this house came by purchase of one of his family (doubtless his maternal grandfather) from the Mordaunts Earls of Peterborough. And in Hollar's four sheet view of London

* It may be mentioned here for what it is worth that the copy of *Londina Illustrata* in the British Museum is marked in pencil at the place shown by square brackets above, as an "error,"

and Westminster, published in 1666, this edifice is clearly made out, with the name of Peterborough House under it ; a distinction not very likely to be given, had the Earl of Peterborough only been tenant to the Davis family, and not the ostensible proprietor himself

“ It appears by no means a modern practise for our nobility and gentry occasionally to let out their town as well as country houses. In Hatton’s new view of London, printed in the year 1708, Peterborough House, Millbank, is noticed then as in the possession of Mr. Bull, a merchant : at this period, the Earl of Peterborough was serving his country in Spain, and in the years 1710 and 1711 was employed on an embassy to Turin, and other Italian courts ; these engagements rendered an expensive establishment at home to him quite unnecessary.

“ The present Earl Grosvenor’s grandfather resided in this house till 1755 ; and it was afterwards inhabited by Lord Delaval, and Mr. Symmons. His lordship then had it in his own occupation, and occasionally lived in it for nearly 20 years, until 1809, when it was taken down to facilitate the great improvements that have since been made in this neighbourhood.

“ This part of the Estate of Earl Grosvenor, containing about seven acres, is bounded on the east by the river Thames south by the estate late the Marquis of Salisbury’s, now in the hands of Government, west by the Estate of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, called Tothill Fields, now let on building leases, and north by the Horseferry road leading from the fields to the ferry to Lambeth. It is now (1822) leased to Mr. John Johnson, who is considerably improving this quarter of the Metropolis, by forming new streets, etc.”

Thomas Pennant in his *Some Account of London*, (1793) speaks of Millbank not as “ a very long place ”—as Strype and Seymour called it—but rather as a single house or mansion. He says: “ Millbank, the last dwelling in Westminster, is a large house which took its name from a mill which once occupied its site.” As Mr. Harland Oxley has pointed out, this can scarcely be correct so far as the exact site is concerned, for the mill was situated, as we have already seen, almost at the commencement of the Bank, near Great College-street. However, to continue Pennant’s account—

“ Here, in my boyish days, I often experienced the hospitality of the late Sir Robert Grosvenor, its worthy owner, who enjoyed it, by the purchase by one of his family from the Mordaunts, Earls of Peterborough. All the rest of his vast property about London devolved on him in right of his mother, Mary, daughter and heiress of Alexander Davies, of Elbury, in the County of Middlesex. I find, in the plan of London by Hollar, a mansion on this spot under the name of Peter-

borough House. It probably was built by the first Earl of Peterborough. It was inhabited by his successors, and retained its name till the time of the death of that great but irregular genius, Charles, Earl of Peterborough, in 1735."

It would appear, however, from an entry in the St. John's Vestry minutes that Pennant was not mistaken in calling the ancient mansion of the Grosvenors "Millbank." It was also known as "Millbank House." On the 28th February, 1812, a Committee appointed to visit the parish boundaries at Millbank reported an alteration of the public footway in front of the site where Lord Grosvenor's house "called Millbank House *formerly stood*"—apparently made under Sec. 51 of the 49 Geo. III., cap. 142, the Vauxhall Bridge Act. This is the first mention of the bridge in the Vestry minutes. According to the Act the footpath should not have been closed until "each branch road from the intended bridge through the forecourt of Earl Grosvenor's house should have been completed." The heiress, Mary Davies, lies in St. Margaret's Churchyard; her tomb is now the only one to be seen there, close to the north porch of the church. Dod's *Peerage* informs us that the Right Hon. Lord Ebury (Robert Grosvenor, first baron, so created in 1857) was born at *Millbank House*, Westminster, on April 24th, 1801.

It was whilst living here, in 1735, that Charles, the third Earl of Peterborough, was privately married to his second wife, Mrs. Anastasia Robinson, the celebrated contralto vocalist. He died the same year, after which the house was rebuilt by the Grosvenor family, upon the property coming into their possession in the manner explained above. The Earl of Wilton, brother of the late Marquess, and uncle of the present Duke of Westminster, was also born here. This famous mansion is assured of an undying remembrance, for has not the immortal Joe Miller—who flourished by sufferance of the gods from A.D. 1684 to 1738—made it or its occupants the subject of a joke in his *Jest Book* under

the title of "high living." ? Here it is. "Peterborough House, which is the very last in London, one way, being rebuilt, a gentleman asked another 'who lived in it'? His friend told him 'Sir Robert Grosvenor.' 'I don't know,' said the first, 'what estate Sir Robert has, but he ought to have a very good one ; for nobody lives *beyond* him in the whole town.'"

As Congreve, the dramatist and poet (1670-1729) was once being rowed in a wherry up the Thames at Millbank, the waterman remarked that, owing to its bad foundation, Peterborough House had sunk a story. "No friend," said he, "I rather believe it is a story raised."

At the time when the Grosvenors were content to live at Millbank, the locality—*Rus in urbe, urbs in rure*—with its goodly houses and fine gardens, must have been very pleasant. It became a fashionable resort on Sundays for the neighbouring gentry, and here, beneath the shady willows that fringed the water's edge, many a disciple of Isaac Walton plied his line, or—

"Beneath some green turf, oft his angle laid,
His sport suspending to admire the charms"

of the opposite Surrey shore, with its undulating uplands stretching beyond the venerable palace of Lambeth and the gardens of Vauxhall. Mr. J. T. Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster* contains several excellent prints presenting views of the bank as rural as those we now see at Molesey or Twickenham ; and *Old and New London* (Vol. IV.) has a wood-cut of 'Millbank about 1800,' showing the gently sloping bank, and cattle which have strayed from the neighbouring fields to allay their thirst at the river's brink, where pollard oaks, willows—

". . . and ashes cool,
The lowly banks o'erspread
And view, deep bending in the pool,
Their shadows' watery bed."

BURNS.

The same author in his entertaining *Book for a Rainy Day*,* writing under date 1827, makes the following remarks anent the changes for the worst which were then coming over the rural quietude of Millbank—

“The Londoners, but more particularly the inhabitants of Westminster, who had been for years accustomed to recreate within the chequered shade of Millbank's willows, have been by degrees deprived of that pleasure, as there are now very few trees remaining, and those so scanty of foliage, by being nearly stript of their bark, that the public are no longer induced to tread their once sweetly variegated banks. Here on many a summer's evening Gainsborough, accompanied by his friend Collins,† amused himself by sketching docks and nettles, which afforded the Rembrandt and Cuyp-like effects to the fore-grounds of his rich and glowing landscapes.

Millbank, which originally extended with its pollarded willows from Belgrave House to the White Lead Mills at the corner of the lane leading to “Jenny's Whim,” afforded similar subjects to those selected by four of the old rural painters; for instance, the boat builders' sheds on the bank, with their men at work on the shore, might have been chosen by Everdingen; the wooden steps from the bank, the floating timber, and old men in their boats, with the Vauxhall and Battersea windmills, by Van Goyen; the various colours of the tiles of the cart-sheds, entwined by the autumnal tinged vines, backed with the most prolific orchards, with the women gathering the garden produce for the ensuing day's market, would have pleased Ruysdael; and the basket maker's overhanging smoking hut, with a woman in her white cap and sunburnt petticoat, dipping her pail for water, might have been represented by the pencil of Dekker.”

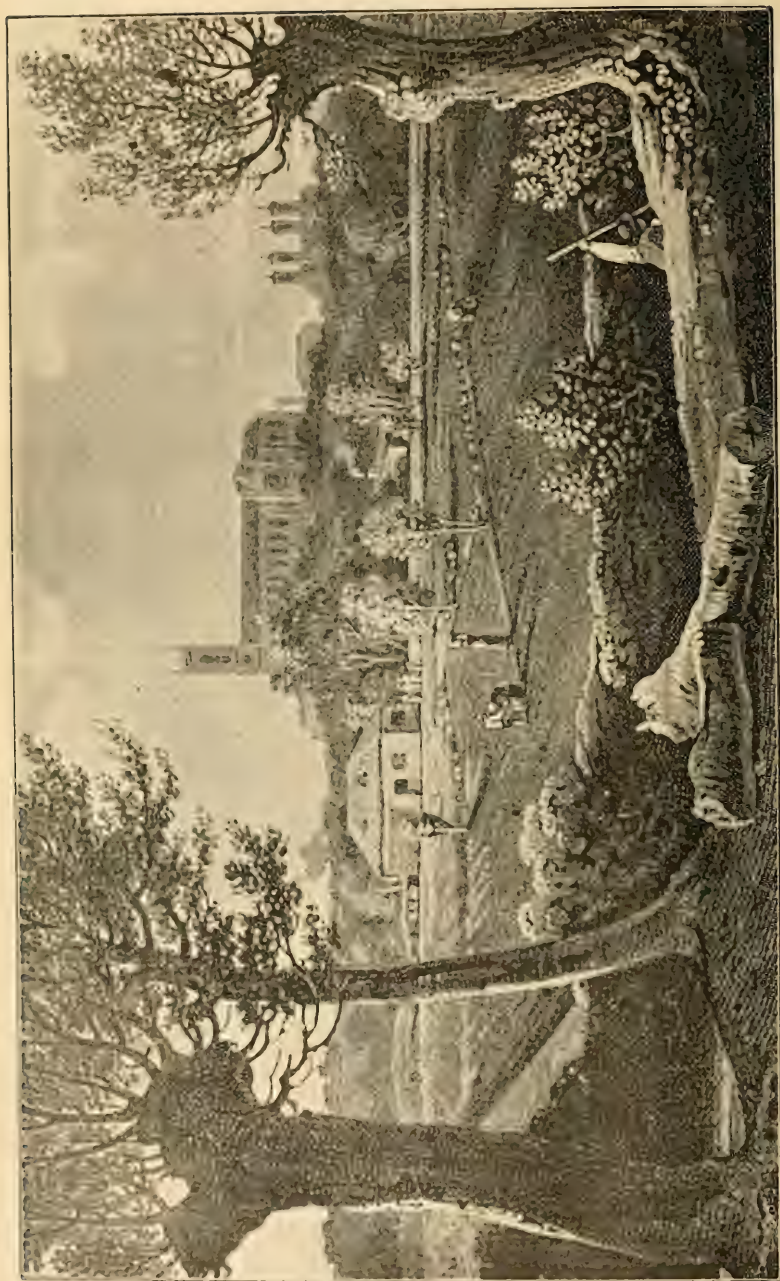
Room must be found for yet another quotation from *A Book for a Rainy Day*, whose author so dearly loved Westminster and its antiquities:—

“Pull away, my hearty” (for I was again in a boat). “To Westminster, Master?—Ay, to Westminster.”

Being now in view of the extensive yards which for ages have been occupied by stone and marble merchants, “Ay” said I; “if these wharfs could speak, they, no doubt, like the Fly, would boast of their noble works. Was it not from our blocks that Roubiliac carved his figures of Newton, the pride of Cambridge; and that of Eloquence, in Westminster Abbey; Bacon's figure of Mars, now in Lord Yarborough's possession; Rossi's Celadon and Amelia, and Flaxman's mighty figure of Satan, in the Earl of Egremont's gallery at Petworth; as well as

* *A Book for a Rainy Day: or Recollections of the events of the years 1766-1833*; by J. T. Smith, p. 243.

† See page 278 ante for an account of this local artist.



View of St. John's parish, from Millbank, in 1807.

From a Print in the Supplement to J. T. SMITH'S *Antiquities of Westminster*.

three-fourths of Nollekens's numerous busts, which according to whisperings, have only been equalled by Chantrey.? And then has not our Carrara been conveyed to the studios of Westmacott and Bayley?

Appreciative Mr. Hare, referring in his *Walks in London* to the Dutch picturesqueness of Millbank, says in a footnote: "Artists should find their way to the banks amongst the boats and warehouses on the Westminster shore opposite Lambeth and further still."

There is a series of sketches of this locality in the Crace collection of prints preserved in the British Museum, drawn by W. Capon between 1799 and 1806. The fields lying off Millbank are sketched from several points of view, in three of which a windmill is shown as existing there at the time.

In Millbank-street there were, besides wharves and stone yards, and brewhouses, numerous large stables in the occupation of carriers and coach proprietors. Perhaps the leading light of the latter in his day was Mr. John Vidler, the Government contractor, who lived in a house which had been built in the "middle of the Millbank" by Sir John Crosse, Bart., the brother of the brewer. To this house, Mr. Walcott informs us, the mail-coaches used to be driven in annual procession from Lombard-street upon the King's birthday.

"Go, call a coach, and let a coach be called,
And let the man who calleth be the caller;
And in his calling let him nothing call,
But Coach! Coach! Coach! O for a coach, ye gods!"

CAREY.

At noon the cavalcade of newly-varnished coaches and well-groomed horses, decked out with new harness and ribbons and streamers, used to set out in charge of guards and coachmen decorated with showy nosegays, and post-boys in scarlet jackets on horseback in advance, reaching the General Post Office at six in the evening. The display annually attracted quite a gathering of sightseers to witness the start to the lively strains of coach horns. The King's birthday, in 1790, was the occasion of the first of these

processions, when sixteen coaches set out with plated harness and hammercloths of scarlet and gold. The displays were continued annually, with varying gaiety of decoration and trimming, until within the recollection of many persons still living who would object to be called old ; but now—

“ No more those coaches shall they see
Come trundling from the yard,
Nor hear the horn blow cheerily
By brandy-bibbing guard.”

Millbank was ever famous—as we have seen from Strype and others—for its brewhouses and distilleries. A distillery belonging to a Mr. Hodge stood close by the site of the Prison at the time of its being built. Messrs. Seager Evans' establishment was transferred hither from that part of Pimlico now called Brewer-street, early in the present century.

In *The News* of September 1, 1806, we read—

“ This morning about six a fire broke out at the distillery of Messrs. Smith, Cook, and Tate, on Millbank,* which burnt for near two hours, destroying the steam engine, estimated at 5,000*l.* . . . A great quantity of corn was destroyed ; two barges, laden with coals, in the dock caught fire, and were burning for a long time. The storehouse was saved, and also the vats containing^s spirits. A detachment of the Queen's Royal Volunteers, and six of the St. Margaret's and St. John's corps attended. The premises were insured for 77,000*l.*, and the loss is estimated at 60,000*l.*”

The rural aspect of Millbank first began to disappear early in the second decade of the present century, after the demolition of Peterborough-house in 1809, and when the projects for building of Vauxhall-bridge and the Penitentiary were in the air. In February of 1811 the Paving Commissioners appointed a Committee to inquire into the right of Earl Grosvenor to let out the ground of Millbank-row, next the river, for wharves, and the Committee reported next month having seen several of the leases and under leases, and taken the opinion of their solicitor thereon, who found that the “ places had always been so leased and used.”

* Although described as of Millbank, this should probably have been “ Thames Bank.”

The wall round the garden of Peterborough-house, with an outer footpath along the river side, was not removed till a year or two after the demolition of the mansion, for in 1811 his lordship's attention was called to the ruinous and dangerous state of the wall, which had been partially washed away by the tide, and to the serious accidents which frequently happened in consequence. His lordship in reply merely called upon his tenants to repair under their covenants. In September of the same year it was reported that Earl Grosvenor had agreed with the City of London as Conservators to extend further into the river the private interests in Millbank-row. Other accidents having occurred the Commissioners erected a post and rail fence next the river "on the public ground under their jurisdiction," and when the owners of leases claimed a right to gates, they were refused. In July, 1812, a notice board was ordered to be put up warning obstructors (principally in loading and unloading waggons) that they would be prosecuted; and that the local authority were determined on preserving the public rights is testified by the fact that a man was shortly afterwards prosecuted for taking down part of the railing and obstructing the highway. On the 28th February, 1812, a Committee appointed to view the parish boundaries at Millbank reported that "some alteration of the line of public footway appears now to be making on the banks of the Thames on the south side of the forecourt of Earl Grosvenor's late house," and "that Messrs. Johnson and Brice are about to make a wharf or landing place and to obstruct the public footway leading from Millbank-row southwards to Vauxhall-bridge." This was Grosvenor-wharf (Messrs. Mowlem's) so that the site of Peterborough-house can be very exactly fixed. Messrs. Johnson and Brice were informed that the Vestry could not consent to such obstructions, but with what result the sequel has shown. The power of property proved too strong. Again in February, 1815, complaint

was made of interference with the footway in Millbank-row (the same having become impassable, and in many places dangerous) owing to persons employed on the Penitentiary having cut up the way with their carts and barrows in unloading the barges. In July, 1817, Mr. Johnson, pavior, informed the Commissioners that the Conservators of the Thames had granted him permission to carry out his wharf in Millbank-row, and that Earl Grosvenor had also consented. At last the tribulations of the Commissioners were to some extent diminished when it was announced in December of 1818 that the "new road from Millbank-row to the Penitentiary and Vauxhall-bridge was ready to be opened shortly." In August, 1819, the footway was first paved, the carriageway pitched, and kerb placed next the river fence. A few months previously (March, 1819) the Commissioners of Woods and Forests complained that a crane had been erected which, when turned over the street, overhung it by sixteen feet. The Commissioners reluctantly replied that they had no power to stop it; and things would appear to have gone on in this style for nearly twenty years, when the Marquess of Westminster informed a deputation who waited upon him in 1837, that he could not interfere, inasmuch as his tenants had undoubted rights under their leases to load and unload, and that the Commissioners must deal with obstructions under their own statutory powers.

The road fronting Millbank prison did not exist prior to 1817, when an Act, 57 Geo. III., cap. 54, was passed to enable Her Majesty's Commissioners of Woods and Forests "to make and maintain a road from Millbank-row, Westminster, to the Penitentiary." The Act recited that no carriage way had yet been set out for passing and repassing between the said Penitentiary and the City of Westminster, and that it was necessary and expedient for opening a communication with the said Penitentiary that a free and public carriage way should be made and maintained from

the south end of Millbank-row, over a piece or parcel of land belonging to the Earl Grosvenor, and then in the possession of Thomas Sargent, and by him used as a wharf, and to be continued along the bank of the River Thames in the line of the old footpath, to the lodge or gate of the said Penitentiary. The land was to be acquired by funds applied from the Land Revenue, and power was given to extend the new road, which, according to the Act, was not to exceed 30 ft. in width, in the direction of Vauxhall Bridge.

Chaucer's *Wife of Bath* has been outdone by a good lady of Westminster. According to the *General Advertiser* there died at her house near Millbank, on August 27, 1752, a Mrs. Tolderoy, "an ancient widow lady, who had buried *six* husbands in twenty-two years!"

"Behold the joys of matrimonial life,
And hear with rev'rence an experienced wife ;
To dear-bought wisdom give the credit due,
And think for once a woman tells you true.
In all these trials I have borne a part,
I was myself the scourge that caused the smart ;
For, since fifteen, in triumph have I led
Five captive husbands from the church to bed.

Now heav'n, on all my husbands gone, bestow
Pleasures above for tortures felt below :
That rest they wished for, grant them in the grave,
And bless those souls my conduct helped to save !"

POPE'S Translation.

Dickens, who knew Westminster—and more particularly its purlieus and out-of-the-way corners—so intimately, has left us in *David Copperfield* a vivid pen-picture of Millbank as it was at the period of his favourite novel—

The neighbourhood was a dreary one at that time ; as oppressive, sad, and solitary by night as any about London. There were neither wharves nor houses on the melancholy waste of road near the great blank Prison. A sluggish ditch deposited its mud at the prison walls. Coarse grass and rank weeds straggled over all the marshy land in the vicinity. In one part, carcasses of houses, inauspiciously begun and never finished, rotted away. In another, the ground was cumbered with rusty iron monsters of steam-boilers, wheels, cranks,

furnaces, paddles, anchors, diving-bells, windmill-sails, and I know not what strange objects, accumulated by some speculator, and grovelling in the dust, underneath which—having sunk into the soil of their own weight in wet weather—they had the appearance of vainly trying to hide themselves. The clash and glare of sundry fiery Works upon the river side arose by night to disturb everything except the heavy and unbroken smoke that poured out of their chimneys. Slimy gaps and causeways winding among old wooden piles, with a sickly substance clinging to the latter like green hair, and the rags of last year's handbills, offering rewards for drowned men, fluttering above high-water mark, led down through the ooze and slush to the ebb tide. There was a story that one of the pits dug for the dead in the time of the Great Plague was hereabout, and a blighting influence seemed to have proceeded from it over the whole place. Or else it looked as if it had gradually decomposed into that nightmare condition out of the overflowings of the polluted stream.

It is now time that something was said about the gloomy fortress-like structure that forms so conspicuous a feature on the river shore at Millbank ; for seeing that it occupies some 23 acres (more than a tenth) of the parish, a brief account of it may be considered admissible. During the last seventy years or more the name of ' Millbank ' has had for a troublesome element of society—the criminal classes—but one association, now soon to be dissolved. Her Majesty's Government have finally (1892,) determined upon the demolition of ' the English Bastille '—as it has been stigmatised from the general resemblance of its conical-shaped towers to those of the Bastille du Temple at Paris, as well as from the former severity of its system—and the maps of London will no longer present the curious cart-wheel plan of the prison, like a huge asterisk, to show where Westminster lay. Though Millbank prison has only been standing some eighty years, it has had a history so remarkable and so varied that it is only right it should have a historian of its own ; and that historian it has found in Major Griffiths, whose exhaustive and entertaining *Memorials of Millbank* (1884) preclude anything more than a general summary being attempted in these pages. ' The very name ' of Millbank, justly observes Major Griffiths, " contains in itself almost an epitome of our whole

penal legislation. With it one intimately associates the names of men like Howard and Jeremy Bentham ; an architect of eminence, Sir Robert Smirke, superintended its erection ; while statesmen and high dignitaries, dukes, bishops, and members of parliament, were to be found upon its committee of management, exercising a control that was far from nominal or perfunctory, not disdaining a close consideration of the minutest details, and coming into intimate personal communion with the criminal inmates, whom, by praise or admonition, they sought to reward or reprove. Millbank has been doomed to demolition again and again ; its site, valued now at near a quarter of a million, has been promised for other edifices—now for a barracks, now for aristocratic squares. Ten years ago a new prison, intended to replace it, was commenced in the western suburbs of London. The new prison is completed and occupied, yet Millbank still survives. Only within the last few months the penitentiary has passed into a new phase of its long and chequered existence. The females' prison in Tothill-fields has been closed, under the power of the Prisons Act of 1877, and Millbank has taken its place. It is now the sole metropolitan prison for females, just as once it was the sole reformatory for promising criminals, the first receptacle for military prisoners, the great *depôt* for convicts *en route* to the Antipodes.” The Penitentiary at Millbank indisputably owed its origin to the labours and agitations of the great philanthropist, John Howard. When the Declaration of American Independence in 1776 closed those colonies against our criminal outcasts, the legislature discovered that “transportation to His Majesty's colonies and plantations in America was found to be attended by various inconveniences, particularly by depriving the kingdom of many subjects whose labour might be useful to the community” (16 Geo. III., cap. 43, 1777) and an Act for the establishment of Penitentiary Houses (19 Geo. III., cap. 74, 1779-80) in substitution for

transportation, was produced by the joint labours of Sir William Blackstone, Mr. Eden (afterwards Lord Auckland) and Mr. Howard. "We have here" says Major Griffiths "the first foreshadowing of Millbank Penitentiary, though the first stone of that prison was not to be laid for another five and twenty years." In the preamble to this Act the opinion was expressed that "if many offenders convicted of crimes for which transportation has been usually inflicted, were ordered to solitary confinement, accompanied by well regulated labour and religious instruction, it might be the means, under Providence, not only of deterring others from the commission of the like crimes, but also of reforming the individuals and inuring them to habits of industry." Fifteen years were occupied, after the passing of this Act, in attempts to find a suitable site for a national penitentiary, and the project might have fallen to the ground altogether but for the intervention of the extraordinary 'utilitarian philosopher,' Jeremy Bentham. This remarkable writer had published, in 1791, his scheme for a "Panopticon, or Inspection House," the main idea of which was a continual but unobserved supervision of the prisoners, by which "a sentiment of a sort of invisible omnipresence" was to pervade the whole prison, with solitude or limited seclusion (as opposed to the former evils of gaol association) diversity of employment, pecuniary interest in work done, and, above all, a continuous and unremitting attempt by religious and moral suasion, by praise and admonition, by instruction and kind treatment, to bring about a reformation in the prisoners' characters. Next year Mr. Bentham followed the matter up by a formal proposal to erect a prison on the plan advocated, he to receive so much per prisoner, with fines to be paid by him in cases of death, or escape, or failure of the reformatory efficacy of his management. Bentham proposed to throw the place open as a sort of public lounge, thereby affording a continual superintendence "by a promiscuous assemblage of unknown,

and therefore unpaid, ungarbled, and incorruptible inspectors, or, in a word, by the public at large," who might hold conversation with the prisoners by means of tubes reaching from each cell to the general centre. "The banquet offered to curiosity," he actually told the Commons' Committee, would be "attractive in proportion to the variety, and, if such a term may be here endured, to the brilliancy of the scene." This extraordinary scheme—a pretty instance of the practical lucubrations of "dreamers of dreams" who are so much in favour nowadays—was taken up with enthusiasm by Mr. Pitt, Lord Dundas (Home Secretary), and others of the Cabinet of the day, who struggled in vain, however, against a certain secret influence, which was none other than that of King George III., who obstinately set his face against Bentham and his scheme, because the author of the Panopticon "was such a Radical." The king refused to append his signature for the purchase of land at Battersea-rise, which might have been obtained for half the price eventually paid for the Tothill-fields site; but finally an Act was passed in 1794, to enable a contract to be entered into between the Treasury and Mr. Bentham, whereby the latter undertook to run up a prison to accommodate a thousand convicts, for £19,000. By virtue of the Act above mentioned £2,000 was advanced to Mr. Bentham in order that he might make the necessary preparations; but four years later the project was still hanging fire, and Bentham was out of pocket to the extent of £9,000. According to Mr. Allen's *History of London*,* the contract was re-purchased for the sum of £23,578. In 1798 we find Mr. Bentham again giving evidence before the House of Commons, recommending the adoption of a site in Tothill-fields, which he quaintly described—"If a place could exist of which it could be said that it was in no neighbourhood, that

* Vol. IV., p. 234.

place would be Tothill-fields." The site previously decided upon at Battersea-rise was abandoned, and 53 acres of land in Tothill-fields were purchased of Lord Salisbury for £12,000, and conveyed to Mr. Bentham as feoffee for the Crown. Upon the two local Vestries being informed in 1799 of the proposed application to Parliament for erecting a Penitentiary House in Tothill-fields, resolutions were passed by both bodies "that the erection of a Penitentiary House in Tothill-fields will be highly injurious to the rights privileges and interests of the inhabitants of the united parishes of Saint Margaret and Saint John the Evangelist ;" but without effect.*

The land acquired as a site for the new prison lay on either side of the Vauxhall-bridge-road, which being laid out after the purchase, divided the property into two lots of 38 and 15 acres respectively—and it was ultimately decided to build the prison on part of the larger area of ground near the river. On the 12th June, 1812, the three supervisors proceeded to business ; 43 designs were sent in, and Mr. William Williams gained the first prize. His revised drawings were subsequently submitted to Mr. Hardwicke, the appointed architect, whose original estimate amounted to £259,725, and additional for foundations, £42,690. Trials and troubles innumerable then commenced; the peaty soil was found to be treacherous in the extreme, and the reader who would acquaint himself with an account of the difficulties met with must turn to Major Griffith's *Memorials*.

When the boundary wall nearest the river had been built six feet high, it sank, and had to be taken down and re-built on new foundations. The soil was drained by a steam-pump, when the peat thus becoming deprived of water, all the surface of the marsh sank some nine inches, bringing down the greater part of the work with it. The lodge after being built, was found to be unsafe, when longer and more

* See page 163 of *Local Government in Westminster*.

numerous piles underneath were substituted ; but this part of the building continued for years after in an unsatisfactory state, and had eventually to be in part pulled down, when all the piles and planking were found to be decayed, owing to the excessive humidity of the soil.

Countless tons of cement brickwork lie beneath the foundations, which were being continually doctored, and the saying "that there is more stuff below ground than above at Millbank" may prove to be, when the work of demolition commences, literally true.

Late in 1813 Mr. Hardwicke resigned and Mr. Harvey, who was appointed in his stead, saw the work through. In June, 1816, the first batch of prisoners—36 females—were received. In September, alarming symptoms of failure and 'settlement' appeared in the building. Serious cracks and fissures opened in the walls of pentagon No. 1, and the safety of the whole edifice was for the moment in question. The two eminent engineers, Messrs Rennie and Smirke, were consulted. They condemned the main sewer and artificial foundations, as well as three of the pentagon towers, and Mr. Robert Smirke was appointed to carry out the necessary work of strengthening and re-construction.

In 1817 the two new pentagons, the third and fourth, were finished, and in December, 1819, the prison population was 325. In 1821 the fifth and sixth pentagons were finished, and the fabric of the prison was completed. "But other works lingered on for some time later. There were plumbers, painters, glaziers, paviors, locksmiths and copper-smiths, busy inside till the middle of the following year ; the kitchen ranges had to be fixed, iron flues also, steam pipes, hot-air stoves, and so forth. But on the 24th July, 1822, the supervisors closed their accounts, and the bill for the whole outlay was sent in to the Treasury." It amounted to £450,310, or nearly £300 for each cell ! The ground plan of the prison consists of six pentagonal buildings radiating from a circle, wherein is the governor's house ;

and each line terminates in a tower in the outer octagonal wall which encloses about 16 acres; 7 covered with buildings, and 9 laid out as gardens. The corridors are upwards of 3 miles long; there are 40 staircases, making in all three miles in length, and about 1,550 cells. "There was one old warder," relates Major Griffiths, "who served for years at Millbank, and rose through all the grades to a position of trust, who was yet unable, to the last, to find his way about the premises. He carried with him always a piece of chalk, with which he 'blazed' his path as the American backwoodsman does the forest trees. Angles every twenty yards, winding staircases, dark passages, innumerable doors and gates—all these bewilder the stranger, and contrast strongly with the extreme simplicity of modern prison architecture. But indeed Millbank, with its intricacy and massiveness of structure, is suggestive of an order that is passed. It is one of the last specimens of an age to which Newgate also belongs; a period when the safe custody of criminals could only be compassed, people thought, by granite blocks, and ponderous bolts and bars. . . . In these matters modern experience has worked an entire revolution. Moral supervision has, to a great extent, replaced mere physical restraint. It is found that prisoners can be more effectually guarded by warders of flesh and blood than by passive chains and huge senseless stones, provided only that there is above all the sleepless eye of a stringent systematic discipline."

Hardly had the prison been twelve months completed when in the autumn of 1822 a strange sickness made its appearance amongst the prisoners. They became pale and languid, thin and feeble, accompanied with rejection of food and occasional faintings. In January, 1823, scurvy—unmistakeable sea scurvy—made its appearance, and with it dysentery and diarrhœa of the peculiar kind that is usually associated with the scorbutic disease. In May, 1823, there were 386 sick; in June, 454; in July, 438. At

this time the prison population amounted to 800. There were in all 30 deaths. Of course the explanation was the insufficient diet and the want of vegetables—not the unhealthiness of the site, as was at the time supposed by the public, who began to fear that Millbank was a huge mistake. ‘Here was a building upon which half a million had been spent, and now, when barely completed, proved uninhabitable!’ It was decided to give the prisoners a change of air and place. An Act of Parliament was immediately passed, authorising their transfer to situations more favourable for the recovery of their health; a number of the female prisoners were at once sent into the Royal Ophthalmic Hospital, Regent’s-park, then standing empty; and males and females alike were drafted into different hulks off Woolwich. In December, 1823, Millbank Penitentiary was completely empty. However, the prison was re-opened in August, 1824.

Concerning the trials of the early management, the mutinous behaviour of the prisoners, the chaplain’s reign, the escapes, the Millbank Calendar, and many other interesting matters, the exigencies of space compel silence in these pages.

The prison was made extra-parochial by Act of Parliament. In 1843, after seven and twenty years of trial, the Millbank Penitentiary, “the great reformatory and moral hospital, the costly machine in which had been sunk half a million of money,” was declared to be a complete failure—“a mistake, a mockery, a sham”; and by the Act 6 and 7 Vict., cap. 26 (1843) the name was altered to “The Millbank Prison.” Millbank was destined now to become the starting point of the new method of carrying out transportation. Every male and female convict sentenced to transportation in Great Britain was sent to Millbank previous to the sentence being executed. Here they remained about three months under the close surveillance of three inspectors of the prison, at the end of which time those officers reported to

the Home Secretary, and recommended the place of transportation. The population was no longer, so to speak, stationary, but fluctuating : instead of two or three hundred men and youths specially chosen to remain within the walls for years, Captain Groves, the new Governor, had to take in all that came, *en route* for the colonies ; so that in the twelve months several thousands passed through his hands. In 1853 transportation was finally abandoned, and a new style of punishment was invented, to describe which the phrase "penal servitude" was coined, and passed current in the language. The building was, in fact, changed into a regular Government prison for criminals, adult and juvenile, and became the general dépôt for convicts waiting to be drafted to other prisons, or placed on shipboard for dockyard labour ; and here were sent the most reckless and hardened criminals from all parts of the country. The penultimate change in the prison's destinies took place upon the closing of Tothill-fields prison (*see p.* 322) when Millbank became the sole metropolitan prison for females. And now it is to be demolished, and in the near future the forbidding, dismal entrance gate, where—

" Above the gloomy portal arch
Timing his footsteps to a march
The warder kept his guard "

MARMION.

and inscribed above which one almost expected to read the well known line—

" All hope abandon ye who enter here."

CARY'S DANTE, III., 9.

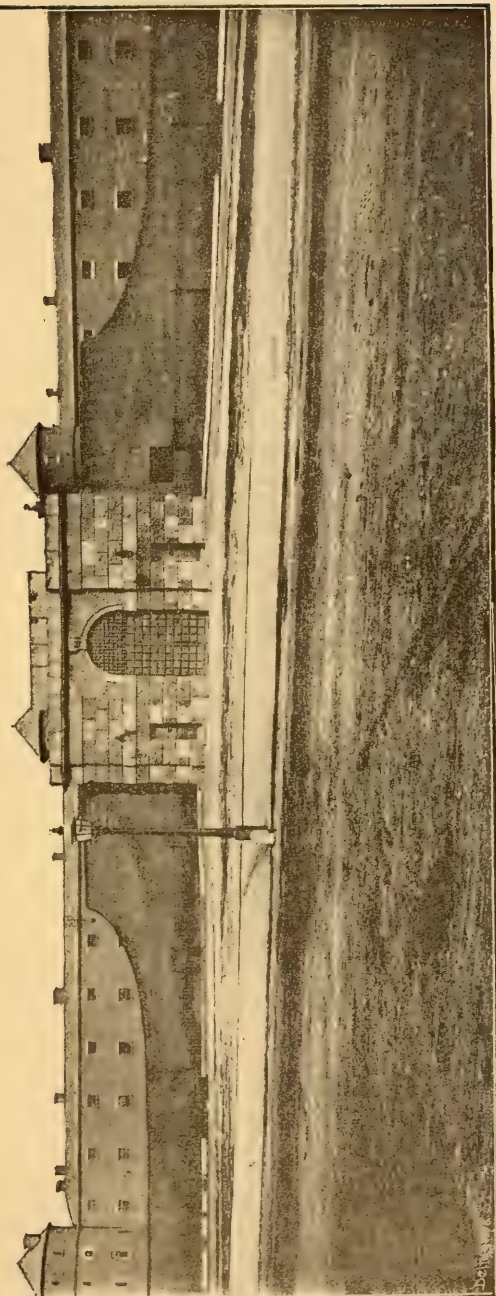
will no longer frown sullenly upon the passers-by in Grosvenor-road, nor upon the "large, gentle, deep, majestic King of Floods," as it goes hurrying along—

Down where commerce stains the tide

Deep in dim wreaths of smoke enfur'd,
The wonder of the modern world.*

On the eve of 10th April, 1848, when the whole of London

* Verses, "By Tamise Ripe," vol. i. of *Once a Week*,



The Entrance Gate of Millbank Prison, Grosvenor-road.

From a photograph taken 1892.

was in a state of panic at the Chartist agitation, the prison was used by the Duke of Wellington as a station for two regiments of the line, who, with others posted out of sight elsewhere in the metropolis, were held in readiness to check any disorder which might be attempted by the thousands who had been invited to meet and march in procession to the House of Commons with the Charter petition. The meeting was held, but was brought to "a ridiculous issue by the unity and resolution of the metropolis, backed by the judicious measures of the government, and the masterly military precautions of the Duke of Wellington."

Millbank with other parts of 'our parish' on that much-dreaded night was patrolled by numbers of loyal and peace-loving citizens of Westminster, who had enrolled themselves as special constables in the sacred interests of law and order.

In the month of December, 1890, there was only one prisoner there—too ill to be removed—and two warders.* And thus ends the history of Millbank prison, after a brief existence of four score years, though built to last for centuries. "Every part of the prison" declares the author of the *Chronicles of Newgate*, "visible and invisible, is a mine of wealth. Hidden amongst its hundreds of cells, its length of corridor and passage, beneath its acres of roof, are, without exaggeration, miles of lead piping, hundreds of tons of iron, immense iron girders, gates in dozens,—some of wrought iron, some of cast,—flagstones without end, shiploads of timber, millions of bricks. If ever the old place comes to be pulled down, the curious enquirer may perhaps understand why it was that it cost half a million of money."

Major Griffiths' statement will very soon be put to the test. After nearly three years' controversy, since the prison's disuse, concerning the question of the utilization of the site, Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, First Commissioner of H.M. Works (in whom the property vests under an Act passed

* *Daily News*, 27th Dec., 1890,

last session) has (Nov. 28, 1892) officially stated that two-and-a-half acres on the river frontage is to be assigned for Mr. Henry Tate's 'National Gallery of British Art'; that a second portion is proposed to be exchanged with the War Office for ground belonging to the St. George's Barracks, behind the National Gallery, Trafalgar-square, for a new barrack; and that negotiations are proceeding with the County Council for the appropriation of a part in the rear to the erection of working-class dwellings. "The site is naturally one of the finest in London," remarks *The Times* of Nov. 29, 1892, "though it is grievously injured by that abomination the Lambeth Suspension-bridge." The Vestry endeavoured in May, 1892, to secure a portion of the site for the public use as a recreation ground, and intimated to the London County Council their willingness to contribute one-fourth the cost of ten acres of the land; but no progress has been made in this matter at the time of writing. It is singular that the very latest item of information (a report of the County Council, dated Dec., 1892) contains a strong observation of their architect confirming all that has been said as to the unsuitable nature of the soil for building purposes. Reporting thereon, he says "there are signs in every direction of the treacherous nature of the subsoil, as settlements have evidently taken place below many portions of the boundary wall and also of the prison building."

A little space may properly be spared here for a few words about the erudite "dreamer of dreams" who put so massive a structure on the spongy soil of Tothill-fields. Jeremy Bentham was the eldest son of Jeremiah Bentham, an attorney, and was born in Houndsditch, February 15th, 1747 (old style). The christian name of Jeremy was derived from an ancestor, Sir Jeremy Snow, a banker of Charles II's. time. Jeremy was a precocious youth. When three years of age he read Rapin's *History* as an amusement; at seven he read *Telemaque* in French; at eight he played the violin, an instrument on which (as also on the

organ) he became at a subsequent period of his life, remarkably proficient; he was very distinguished at Westminster School, and at thirteen was removed to Oxford, where he attained the degree of M.A. nearly three years before he was of age. About 1765 his father purchased the house in Queen-square-place, where he and his son both passed the remainder of their lives. Jeremy Bentham can accordingly be claimed as essentially a Westminster man by education, by residence, and by his prison. Bentham's writings are very obscure; his political principles were exceedingly advanced and distasteful to the times; and his utilitarianism was certainly carried to extremes—"Let loose our Colonies" is an instance. Of his Panopticon scheme nothing further need be said here. He was engaged on the third volume of his *magnum opus*—the *Constitutional Code*—at the time of his death. His appearance, it has been remarked, "both in the amplitude of his look, the flow of his reverend hair, and the habitual benevolence of his smile, had a striking likeness to Franklin, and on a hasty glance the busts might be confounded. He had all the practical wisdom of one of the sages of good sense; took exercise as long as he could both abroad and at home; indulged in reasonable appetite; and, notwithstanding the mechanical-mindedness with which his utilitarianism has been charged, and the suspicious jokes he could crack against fancy and the poets, could quote his passages out of Virgil, 'like a proper Eton boy.' He also played upon the organ, which looked the more poetical in him, because he possessed, on the border of his garden, a house in which Milton had lived, and had set up a bust against it in honour of the great Bard, himself an organ player. Emperors as well as other princes had sought to do him honour; but he was too wise to encourage their advances beyond what was good for mankind. The Emperor Alexander, who was afraid of his legislation, sent him a diamond ring, which the Philosopher

to his immortal honour returned, saying (or something to that effect) that his object was not to receive rings from princes, but to do good to the world." The great jurist died at his house in Queen-square-place, on June 6th, 1832, aged 85 ; his death was 'singularly tranquil.'

A broad embankment now extends the whole length of the river in front of Millbank Prison. Leaving the river at the Vauxhall-road pier, a broad and open thoroughfare conducts us to Vauxhall-bridge, passing Millbank Slate Wharf (acquired by the Vestry in 1891 for their purposes), Victoria-wharf, Parliament-wharf, and Baltic-wharf in the possession of Mr. S. Nash Castle.

The whole riverside thoroughfare from Lambeth-bridge to Chelsea-embankment is now known as Grosvenor-road. That part of it mentioned above between the Prison and Vauxhall-bridge was, until 1876, called Ponsonby-street. The other half of the crescent facing the approach to the bridge, on the south side, was known as "Trinity-terrace."

By an Order of the Metropolitan Board of Works, dated 4th August, 1876, the subsidiary names of Millbank-row, Ponsonby-street, Crescent-terrace, and Trinity-terrace were abolished, and the whole line of thoroughfare from Lambeth-bridge to Chelsea-bridge re-named Grosvenor-road and re-numbered. Millbank-row is now known as 1 to 18, Grosvenor-road ; Ponsonby-street extended from the prison to Vauxhall-bridge ; Crescent-terrace is now 46 to 57, Grosvenor-road ; and Trinity-terrace 68 to 75, Grosvenor-road. Millbank-street now extends from Abingdon-street to Lambeth-bridge.

Inasmuch as Vauxhall-bridge owes not only its name but its origin to the famous Gardens which once adorned the Surrey side of the Thames over against Millbank, it may be permitted to say a few words respecting them. The place had been a public resort since the days of Charles the Second, when they were known as the New Spring Gardens ; but the unique celebrity of the Gardens

dates from 1732, when on June 7th they were opened with an entertainment called *Ridotto al fresco*, at which the Prince of Wales was present, the majority of the company appearing in masks and dominos. The place soon became of world-wide renown for its walks, lit with thousands of lamps; its musical and other entertainments; its statues and pictures; its suppers—not forgetting the delicious ham cut in slices of wafery thinness; and its fireworks. Its gaieties have been described by Fielding in his *Amelia*, 1751; also by Goldsmith in his *Citizen of the World*, in which he is enraptured with “the lights glimmering through the scarcely moving trees; the full bodied concert bursting on the stillness of night; the company gaily dressed, and the tables spread with various delicacies.” The Gardens were finally closed in 1859, after low prices had brought low companies. The most profitable season was that of 1823, when there were 133,279 visitors, the receipts amounting to £29,590.

We may be sure that during the halcyon days of Vauxhall-gardens, crowds were wont to gather on Millbank to watch the pyrotechnic and hydropyric displays across the water. On one occasion, July 20, 1802, when a grand fire balloon was sent up by M. Garnerin, the crowd of spectators was astonishing; the highways and lanes in the neighbourhood were filled from side to side; and Westminster-bridge for half-an-hour was completely impassable. At other times the fireworks of Signor Ruggiert or Madame Hengler would be the attraction.—

“Oh! Mrs. Hengler!—Madam,—I beg pardon.
 Starry Enchantress of the Surrey Garden!
 Accept an ode not meant as any scoff—
 The Bard were bold indeed at thee to quiz,
 Whose squibs are far more popular than his;
 Whose works are much more certain to go off!
 Strange helps to thy applause too are not missing;
 Thy Rockets raise thee,
 And Serpents praise thee,
 As none beside are ever praised—by hissing!”

HOOD.

Mr. Percy Fitzgerald in his recently published *Picturesque London*,* takes particular notice of the grotesque figure-heads at Mr. Castle's Baltic-wharf (159-161, Grosvenor-road)—

At Vauxhall Bridge we come to a curious conceit that would have 'arrided'—Lamb's word—the heart of Dickens. Here is a large yard devoted to the sale of ship timber, for which old vessels of course are bought and broken up. But there remain always the old figure-heads—strange, curious, gigantic efforts, that make one wonder what manner of man the designer was. Nor are they without merit or spirit. They rise towering with a strange stark air, and look over the wall with much of the dazed astonishment the animals showed in Charles Lamb's copy of Stackhouse's Bible. Here are Dukes of York with a fatuous expression, the Janet Simpson, or Lady Smith, and Iron Dukes—all, it must be said, wrought rather vigorously, and looking with eternal solemnity over the wall, each some six or eight feet high, to the surprise of the stranger. The natives are familiar with them.

In the Crace Collection of Prints (British Museum) there is an interesting pencil sketch by W. Capon, dated 1798 (June 10), being "a view in Tothill-fields near the Timber Yard," and showing an old tree in which was a table and seat for three persons. A pencil note by the artist reads—"In this tree was a table and seat for three persons to sit and to drink, &c.; they went up by pieces nailed across the tree like a ladder. It was cut down to make way for the new Vauxhall-bridge." (Portfolio XIV., No. 2.)

In 1809 a company was incorporated for the purpose of "building a bridge from the south side of the river at or near Cumberland-gardens, or Vauxhall turnpike, in Lambeth, to the opposite shore, called Millbank, in the parish of St. John, Westminster,"—the 49 Geo. III. c. 142.

The scheme was originally planned in 1808 by Mr. Ralph Dodd,† the civil engineer (1761-1822) and projector of tunnels, who certainly seems, says Charles Knight "to have had the misfortune of constantly witnessing other men reaping the honours he had sown."‡ The company were to be repaid by tolls, and one of the promised great sources

* *Picturesque London*, 1890, p. 270.

† Father of George Dodd, who designed Waterloo Bridge.

‡ *Cyclopædia*.

of profit which induced the original subscribers to embark on the undertaking, was the expected traffic from visitors on foot and in vehicles to Vauxhall-gardens. Hitherto people came thither by coaches to the waterside and thence by wherry-boats to Vauxhall-stairs, as described in Fielding's *Amelia*. The gardens, it is true, survived the opening of the bridge nearly a quarter of a century, but it is by no means uncertain that the presence of so incongruous a thing as an iron bridge did not help them on the downward way.

The beginning of the new bridge was most inauspicious, for disputes and dissensions of a remarkable kind attended it throughout. Dodd was dismissed in favour of Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Rennie, and the works for the building of the new bridge were not commenced until May 9, 1811, when the first stone of the pier on the Middlesex side, begun by Mr. Rennie, was laid by Lord Dundas as proxy for the Prince Regent (afterwards George IV.). On that day the weather was so stormy that, although the coins, etc., were duly deposited by the Regent's proxy, the stone had to be left for the time uncovered. Mr. Rennie in his turn quarrelled with the directors, and the project was handed over to Sir Samuel Bentham.* After that the works were suspended for a couple of years, Sir Samuel retiring in his turn, and finally Mr. James Walker, the architect, whom the Corporation of London had deputed to inspect the works, took up the enterprise. Another Act of Parliament was passed—52 Geo. III, c. 147—and another ceremony of laying a “foundation stone on the opposite side was performed on August 21, 1813, by Prince Charles, the eldest son of the Duke of Brunswick, who so soon after fell on the glorious field of Waterloo”—

“Within a winnowed niche of that high hall
Sate Brunswick's fated chieftain; he did hear
That sound, the first amidst the festival,
And caught its tones with Death's prophetic ear;

* Both Mr. Walcott and Mr. Knight make the strange mistake of confounding Jeremy Bentham with his brother Sir Samuel, the engineer and inventor.

And when they smiled because he deemed it near,
His heart more truly knew that peal too well
Which stretched his father on a bloody bier,
And roused the vengeance blood alone could quell ;
He rushed into the field, and, foremost fighting, fell !”

BYRON.

The change from stone to iron was made on grounds of economy, the new Act of 1812 being obtained for the purpose ; but unfortunately progress had been made with the foundations, so that the nine arches, each of only 78 feet span, had to be retained. The entire work was finished in 1816, and it was opened on June 4th of that year. The iron superstructure was cast at Butterly in Derbyshire, and consists as already mentioned, of nine equal arches, each of 78 feet span, supported on eight rusticated stone piers, each 13 feet wide above low water level, built on a foundation of wooden framing cased with stone.

The piers thus occupy about 104 feet of the waterway, or about one-eighth of the total width of the river between the abutments. The length of the bridge between the abutments is 809 feet, and its width between the parapets 36 feet 3 inches, having a carriageway 24 feet, and two footways each 6 feet 1½ inches wide. The superstructure of each arch consists of 10 cast iron ribs 18 inches deep, spaced about 4 feet apart, and they support the vertical cast iron spandril standards upon which rest the ribbed cast iron plates which retain the macadam roadway filling. The heights of the soffits of the arches at the centre of the bridge vary from 26·5 feet to 17·0 feet above Trinity high water at the centre of the arches adjoining the abutments. The prevailing gradient over the bridge is about 1 in 35. The gradient on the Middlesex approach is 1 in 29, and that on the Surrey approach 1 in 30.

Vauxhall was nearly the earliest of the cast-iron metropolitan bridges, Southwark being its junior by a year or

two. The bridge cost £259,681 to build ; in 1849-50 its half-year's clear revenue from tolls was £2,986 3s. 4d. The roadway on the south side crosses the site of the Cumberland Tea Gardens. The bridge was purchased by the Metropolitan Board of Works for £75,000, and was freed from toll on May 24th, 1879.* The muddle and ill-luck which characterised the early history of the bridge has never forsaken it, and now after an uneventful existence of some 76 years, it is doomed to disappear and make way for a structure better suited to meet "not only the pressing needs of the present time, but those of future generations."† An examination of the pier foundations made by a diver in 1887 showed that the bottom of the timber cradles upon which the piers are founded were in several places four or five inches above the level of the clay bed of the river, caused by the scour of the current which flows through the narrow arches at an extreme velocity—at times the ebb tide runs through with a surface velocity of $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour. When wind and tide are both ahead, it has been no uncommon sight to see one of the Chelsea steamboats put its passengers ashore short of their destination after fruitless efforts to stem the force of the current ; barges are occasionally carried on to the piers to the injury of both ; and in several instances lives have been lost. When in addition to this are borne in mind its paltry dimensions, its cruelly steep approaches, the increased traffic owing to the enlargement of Vauxhall station, the weak condition of Lambeth bridge, and the need for continuous tram communication between Victoria and Vauxhall railway stations, it must be confessed that it has not been condemned a day too soon. The London County Council propose (1892) to construct a five-arch steel bridge with granite faced piers and abutments, the width between the parapets to be 80 feet. The cost is estimated to be about £380,000. To accommodate the traffic during the re-building of Vauxhall-bridge it is

* See p. 345. † Report of Bridges Committee of County Council, July, 1892.

proposed to build a wooden bridge, not less than 50 feet wide, to cross from the extreme western end of the Albert-embankment to Millbank. The cost of this temporary bridge is estimated at £30,000.

From Mr. Timbs' *Curiosities of London* we learn that the low grounds west of this bridge, "formerly known as the Neathouse Gardens, were elevated to a level with the Pimlico-road, by transporting hither the soil excavated from St. Katherine's Docks; and upon this artificial foundation several streets were built." The docks in question were partially opened for business in 1828.

The Neat-houses, which once existed hereabouts, having been mentioned, the occasion may opportunely serve for a closer examination of this ill-defined district, whose only landmark for centuries was a parcel of rude outlying sheds belonging to some prudent husbandman, recalling Virgil's description:—

"In th' evening to a fair ensuing day
With joy he sees his flocks and kids to play,
And loaded kine about his cottage stand
Inviting with known sound the milker's hand."

COWLEY : *trans. Virg. Georg.*

The precise locality of the Neat-houses has been a vexed question with most antiquarians who have written of Westminster and Chelsea; and indeed so many changes have taken place in the topographical surroundings and appearance of this part of the metropolis, that uncertainty is easily excusable. Such old maps as show them are by no means reliable, by reason of the disappearance of old land-marks, of the alteration in the line of river-shore, and, it must be added, of the fact that the draughtsmen in days gone by did not pay so much attention 'to scale' as would now be observed. But excuses for them can be found in the fact that this part of the world was, even in the present century, a *terra incognita* of pasture, market-gardens, and common, relieved only by some sheds "for cattle of the ox kind."

As we approach the question of their exact position, we

find that John, fifth son of Richard, Duke of York, was born at the Manor House of Neyte, Nov. 7, 1448. The site of the Neat-houses is described in a grant in the Clause Rolls, 28 Henry VIII. (1538) as the "Manor of Neyte, with the precinct of water called the Mote of the said Manor." This manor, Dean Stanley tells us "by the river-side at Chelsea, was a favourite country-seat of the Abbots. There Littlington and Islip died." It was, with the manor of Hyde, exchanged with Henry VIII. for Hurley.* The Dean also mentions that famous John of Gaunt borrowed the Manor House from the Abbot for his residence during Parliament.† King Edward VI. granted to Sir Anthony Brown, Master of the Horse (one of the regents appointed by King Henry's will) "the house called the Neate and all the site, circuit, ambit and premises thereto belonging, late parcel of the possessions of Westminster Abbey, and situated in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields," to Sir Anthony Browne, on June 28, in the first year of his reign (1547). So much for the manor. Strype's Stowe mentions the Neat-houses as noted for garden produce :—

"The Neat Houses are a parcel of Houses most seated on the banks of the river Thames, and inhabited by gardeners, for which it is of note for the supplying London and Westminster Markets with Asparagus, Artichokes, Cauliflowers, Muskmelons, and the like useful things, which by reason of their keeping the ground so rich by dunging it (and through the nearness of London they have the soil cheap) doth make their crops very forward, to their great profit, in coming to such good markets."

It should be particularly noticed that he places them in Westminster. Under the heading, "For the Adjacent or Out Parts of the Parish," he speaks of the Neat-houses as above, and then of Knightsbridge.

Pepys knew them, as is shown by more than one entry in his oft-quoted *Diary* :—

"Aug. 1, 1667. . . . After the play, we went into the house, and spoke with Knipp, who went abroad with us by coach to

* Dugdale I., 282.

† *Archæological Journal*, No. 114, p. 144.

the Neat Houses in the way to Chelsy ; and there, in a box in a tree, we sat and sang, and talked and eat ; my wife out of humour, as she always is, when this woman is by. So, after it was dark, we [went] home. Set Knipp down at home, who told us the story how Nell is gone from the King's house and is kept by my Lord Buckhurst”

“*May 28, 1668.* . . . Met Mercer and Gayet, and took them by water, first to one of the Neat Houses, where walked in the garden, but nothing but a bottle of wine to be had, though pleased with seeing the garden ; *and so to Fox Hall*, where with great pleasure we walked”

The gardens were evidently in his time a place of resort for *al fresco* entertainment. Richard, Lord Braybrooke, Pepys' best editor, says in a foot-note anent the Neat-house gardens : “ They seem to have been situated at or near Millbank.” The words of the diarist, “ and so to Fox Hall,” are significant that they must have been quite close to the river bank, whence Pepys and his party could take boat to cross over to the gardens of Vauxhall.

And yet elsewhere Pepys writes—

“ We hear that Madame Ellen Gwyn's mother, sitting lately by the water side at her house by the Neate Houses, near Chelsea, fell accidentally into the water and was drowned.”

In the report entitled *Local Government in Westminster*, published by the United Vestry in 1889, it is made to appear, from the best evidence then to hand, that the Neat-houses were situated exclusively in that part of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-fields which now forms part of St. George's, Hanover-square. The truth of the matter is, there were Neat-houses on *both* sides of the King's Scholars'-pond, the “ thin stream ” which then (as now) constitutes the boundary between the two parishes. Colour was given to the error (if such it can be called) in the report above mentioned, by the discovery in the Vestry minutes, then for the first time systematically exploited, of a proposal made at a Vestry meeting on Sunday, 18th November, 1711, to surrender the Hamlet of Knightsbridge for the

Neat-houses ; as also by a quotation made by Peter Cunningham from the accounts of the overseers of St. Martin-in-the-Fields :—

The xiiijth daie of Maie 1621 To the iiij bearers for bringing
the drownd woman from the Thames near the Neate
House iiij*d*.

Nothing could be more explicit than the Vestry's resolution just referred to :—

18th November, 1711.—That Mr Thomas Wisdome & Mr Thos Yeomanes be desired to goe to Mr Elridge Clerk of the Vestry of St. Martin's in the Feilds in order to treat with some of the Gent^s of the Vestry belonging to the said Parish relating to the Neathouses being taken into this Parish of St. Marg^{tt} Westm^r & to Offer them in Liew thereof the Hamlett of Knightsbridge within this Parish.

It should here be explained that the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, originally taken from St. Margaret's parish, extended along the line now known as the King's Scholars' pond sewer, to the river side, from a point just to the west of the present Vauxhall bridge to the junction with Chelsea, and passed northwards again along the line of the Westbourne river, now the Ranelagh sewer, until the area was assigned to the parish of St. George, Hanover-square, upon its foundation in 1725.

Hatton in his *New View of London*, 1708, says, "the Parish of St. Martin extended to the Thames near Chelsea." There is therefore strong evidence to show that certain Neat Houses and "the manor of Neate in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields," granted by Edward VI. to Sir A. Brown, were certainly "beyond the limits of the ancient parish," to quote the words of the Vestry report of 1889. But it is equally certain that there were Neat-houses—perhaps of a later date—within the parish of St. John, near the Millbank.

In a rate made in St. John's parish, in the spring of 1782, there are 20 properties assessed under the head of "Neat-

houses." They are entered in the book between " Millbank-street East " and " Millbank," and include :—

Mr. Adams & Archibald Campbell, bank for laying timber	} Assessed at £15.
Benj. Hodges, Distill-house and Vinegar Yard	} Assessed at £50.
Benj. Hodges for slip of land	

Major Griffiths, in *Memorials of Millbank*, mentions that "a large distillery, owned by a Mr. Hodge, stood near the proposed site of the prison." These Neat-houses "between Millbank-street East and Millbank," can therefore be fixed with sufficient exactness as somewhere close to the spot now covered by Purbeck-place, north of the prison.

A plan preserved in the British Museum (Crace Collection, Portf. XI, 13), of the estate belonging to the Marquis of Salisbury, at Millbank, dated 1780, is described by a key, which makes it perfectly clear that the properties, mentioned in the rate-book, occupied by Mr. Hodges and others, were situated close to the river bank (now Grosvenor-road), and separated from the water by a foot-path. A tea garden and house, very likely that known to Pepys, overlooked the water's edge. A considerable area of meadow land, with sheds, &c., was in the rear. The leases appear to have expired in 1803, so far as these houses were concerned.

In September, 1831, the tender of "John Hall, of Neat Ho. Barn, Thames Bank," for scavenging, etc., was accepted by the Paving Commissioners. Still further evidence is afforded of the existence of Neat-houses within the boundaries of the parish, by a correspondence which took place between the Commissioners and the Dean and Chapter, in 1822, respecting a bar, "put up with the view of preventing carts and carriages crossing the fields by Rochester-row in winter and wet weather, in order to preserve the way or approach to the houses in Rochester-row from being cut up." The Chapter Clerk replied that—

"It never was the wish of the Dean and Chapter to withdraw entirely the kindness of permitting the Inhabitants of the Neat Houses and Lands adjoining making use of the convenience of the Fields as

a Way at proper times. Pretensions to a right of Way have been claimed by the Proprietors of the Neat Houses and Lands, but whom I conceive have not the shadow of a right, and the Dean and Chapter in return for their kindness threat'ned with legal proceedings, and Acts of violence, if the Bar was shut, even on a Sunday. To avoid tumult and litigation it has been left open."

"It was within one of the Neat-house-gardens near this bank," says the author of *A Book for a Rainy Day*, "that Garnerin's kitten descended from the balloon which ascended from Vauxhall-gardens in the year 1802. This descent is thus handed down in a song attributed to George Colman the younger, entitled

"PUSS IN A PARACHUTE.

- "Poor puss in a grand parachute,
 Was sent to sail down through the air,
 Plump'd into a garden of fruit,
 And played up old gooseberry there.
 The gardener, transpiring with fear,
 Started just like a hundred stuck hogs ;
 And swore, though the sky was quite clear,
 'Twas beginning to rain cats and dogs.
- "Mounseer, who don't value his life,
 In the Thames would have just dipped his wings,
 If it wasn't for vetting his vife,
 For vimen are timbersom things :
 So at Hampstead he landed her dry ;
 And after this dangerous sarvice,
 He took a French leave of the sky
 And vent back to Vauxhall in a Jarvis."



CHAPTER XIII.

STREETS AND PLACES.

"By thee transported, I securely stray
Where winding alleys lead the doubtful way;
The silent court and opening square explore
And long perplexing lanes untrod before."—GAY.

"Here, you earth-born souls still speak
To mortals, of their little week;
Of their sorrows and delights;
Of their passions and their spites;
Of their glory and their shame;
What doth strengthen and what maim.
Thus ye teach us, every day,
Wisdom, though fled far away."—KEATS.

"Great men have been among us; hands that penned
And tongues that uttered wisdom, better none!"—WORDSWORTH.

The pleasures of the town archæologist.—London's many-sidedness.—Disappearance of sign-boards—Old Westminster signs.—Lighting, and Street Nomenclature.—Abingdon-street and Dirty-lane.—Telford.—Delaval's House.—John Churchill.—Arneway-street.—Barton and Cowley-streets.—An eminent actor and a little-read poet.—Dr. A. Bell.—Dr. Carey.—Chadwick-street.—Gt. College-street.—Gibbon and Keats.—The Wesleys.—Ginger's.—The Dead Wall.—Walcott and Thoms.—Hutton.—Douglas-street.—Fynes-street.—Grey-coat-place.—Horseferry-road and Market-street.—Laundry-yard.—Charles Marsham, Earl of Romney.—Vine-street and Charles Churchill.—Monck-street.—Elliston.—Orchard-street.—"John Buncl."—Peabody-buildings.—Pear-street.—Page-street.—Holywell-street.—Peter-street.—R. Cumberland.—Old and New Pye streets.—De Groot.—Perkin's rents.—Regency-street.—Rochester-row.—A troublesome ditch.—St. Ann's lane and street.—Robert Herrick.—Purcell.—Dr. Heather.—Rushworth.—Mob violence.—Vagabondiana.—St. John-street.—Duck-lane.—Smith-square.—Gt. Smith-street.—Southerne, Steele, Nichols, and Dilke.—Strutton-ground.—Tufton-street and Bowling-alley.—Col. Blood, who stole the Crown.—Vauxhall-bridge-road.—Five Chimney-court.—Warwick-street.—The Willow Walk.—Wheeler-street and Wood-street.—John Carter.

THE poet Shelley, in his *Letter to Maria Gisborne*, addresses her—

You are now
In London, that great sea, whose ebb and flow
At once is deaf and loud, and on the shore
Vomits its wrecks, and still howls on for more.
Yet in its depths what treasures!

The inhabitants of Westminster are "citizens of no mean city"; and for such of them as take more than a bird's-eye

view of their city, or even of that part of it which 'our parish' forms, there are indeed in its depths treasures hitherto untold ! In the words of Dean Stanley, "it is the peculiar compensation to the inhabitants of a city like this, that what others gain from the study and enjoyment of Nature, you may gain from the study and enjoyment of history. What geology, mineralogy, and botany are to the dwellers in rustic parishes, that history is to the occupants of streets, the neighbours of houses, whose very names are famous. The pleasure which a botanist finds in the flowers along the common pathways of his daily walks ; the pleasure which the geologist finds in hills, valleys, roads, and railroads, as if their very sides were hung with beautiful pictures, which to him alone are visible, this same pleasure is given to the historian as he looks at the buildings, as he sees the names of even the commonest streets in London."

"Houses and streets are indeed only the work of man," says Walcott, writing in a similar strain, "but it must be a cold superficial mind that can detect in them only a wide blank and monotonous league of weary masonry"; and it is with a contemptuous scorn that Lawrence Sterne in the *Sentimental Journey*, pities the man "who can travel from Dan to Beersheba and cry, 'Tis all barren."

It is well-known that Walpole had projected a work on the lines of a French book, *Anecdotes des Rues de Paris*, wherein he intended, in imitation of the French original, to have pointed out the streets and places where any remarkable incident had happened ; "but," he says, "I found the labour would be too great, in collecting material from various streets, and I abandoned the design, after having written about ten or twelve pages."* It may well be believed that the cultured *dilettante* soon became appalled at the literary Frankenstein he raised up for himself: it has been a matter of astonishment for the compiler of these notes to find while prosecuting the work of research that such a small, out-of-the-way part of London

* *Walpoliana*, Vol. I,

as 'our parish,' only dating its creation from 1728, and built upon or in the immediate vicinity of marshy fields, which Bentham stigmatised as being in no neighbourhood at all, should contain, within its narrow limits, so great a variety of historical and literary association. No more befitting words were ever spoken than those of Dean Stanley, quoted above. The narrow unpretentious streets and the dirty courts and lanes of St. John's parish, become vested with a new interest when connected with such names as Keats, Herrick, Cumberland the dramatist, Churchill, Southerne, Gibbon, Thoms, Steele, and Purcell—to mention only a few. Dr. Johnson is recorded by the faithful Boswell to have remarked, "If you wish to have a just notion of the magnitude of the City, you must not be satisfied with seeing its great streets and squares, but must survey the innumerable little lanes and courts. It is not in the showy evolutions of buildings, but in the multiplicity of human habitations which are crowded together, that the wonderful immensity of London consists"; and Boswell himself writes, "I have often amused myself with thinking how different a place London is to different people." It is, as it were, a mirror of innumerable facets, where each observer from every point of view, finds, according to his idiosyncrasy and temperament, the reflexive image of his own mind. To Carlyle it is "the tuberosity of modern civilisation," to Gray "a tiresome dull place," to Southey "a maze," to Cobbett "the great Wen," to Walpole "the securest solitude," and to Burke, "clean, commodious, neat, an endless addition of littleness to littleness."

According to Leigh Hunt, it was in the reign of Charles the First that the City of Westminster first began to spread out across the fields (*The Town*, Vol. I.), and John Northouck, in his *New History of London* (1773), speaks with approbation of the streets of Westminster as being more open and regular, compared with those of London.

In 1760 names were first placed upon doors; in 1764 houses were first numbered; gas first appeared in Westminster streets in 1813; road watering was commenced in 1825. The house signs of London did not begin to disappear until 1766, and the projecting signs and sign-boards of the shop-keepers had not all been taken down at the commencement of the present century. True, the art of reading, which may be said to have become a general acquirement by the middle of the eighteenth century, diminished the necessity for the retention of such signs; nevertheless the absence of any general system of numbering the houses, which system had commenced in Paris as early as 1512, justified, to some extent, the retention of the signs, while many of the shop-keepers clung to the traditions of their fathers in that respect. Gay, in his *Trivia*, points out some of the advantages of shop signs:—

If drawn by bus'ness to a street unknown
Let the sworn porter point thee through the town;
Be sure observe the Signs, for Signs remain
Like faithful landmarks to the walking train.

The same observant poet discovers another use, even in the dissonant creaking of the signs, as affording a hint to the wayfarer and the loungee, either to hurry home or to hail a sedan-chair or a coach;—

But when the swinging signs your ears offend
With creaking noise, then rainy floods impend.

A print preserved in the Crace Collection at the British Museum shows the sign of the 'Sugar Loaf' suspended from a grocer's shop, in Orchard-street, so recently as 1840; the linen for the purposes of the church was obtained at 'The Sun'; and other articles of drapery were purchased of Mr. Johnston, of 'The Ship, in Smith-street, near Dean's-yard'; oilman's goods were supplied by Mr. Stephen FitzGerald of 'The Olive Tree, in Millbank-street, near the Horse Ferry'; and the silk-mercantile goods were procured from 'The Crown and Pearl.'

Most of the old Westminster signs were historical, and many in the vicinity of the Abbey bore religious charges. Signs are now only retained by public-houses, and we still have in St. John's the 'Salutation' * (of the Virgin) in Barton-street, the 'White Hart,' the badge of Richard II., Grosvenor-road; the 'Brown Bear' of the Warwicks, in Marsham-street; the 'White Swan,' badge of Henry V.; and the 'Old Rose,' badge of the Tudors.

Many of them denote the former rural character of the locality—the 'Barley Mow' and 'White Horse and Bower,' in Horseferry-road; the 'Three Elms,'* Great Peter-street; the 'Wheatsheaf,' the 'Plough,' and the 'Three Jolly Gardeners,' in Rochester-row; and the 'Ramblers' Rest,' in Rochester-street—who would think of rambling there now? Ground landlords are represented by the 'Westminster Arms,' Grosvenor Arms,' 'Morpeth Arms,' 'Bessborough Arms,' 'Ponsonby Arms,' and 'Rochester Arms'; while Labour displays its cognisances at the 'Paviors' Arms,' the 'Builders' Arms,' and the 'Bricklayers' Arms.' The loyalty and patriotism of Westminster are shown by many insigns—in fact, the majority of them are so derived. We have, in St. John's parish alone, 'William the Fourth,' 'George the Fourth,' 'Prince of Wales,' 'Duke of York,' 'Duke of Clarence,' 'Prince Alfred,' 'Regent Arms,' 'King's Head,' 'King's Arms,' 'Queen's Head,' 'Queen's Arms,' the 'Crown,' the 'Crown and Sceptre,' the 'Thistle and Crown,' and the 'Royal Oak'; and for patriotism, 'Admiral Nelson,' 'Lord High Admiral,' 'Lord Clyde,' the 'Wellington,' the 'Rifleman,' and the 'Volunteer.' Four 'Ships' are in full sail with one 'Cabin' amongst them, presumably overlooked by 'Britannia'; while "the trade" itself is represented by a brace of 'Two Brewers,' and the 'Brewers' Arms.'

Holywell-street, Esher-street, Earl-street, Johnson-street, Kensington-place, Grosvenor-street, Hudson's-terrace, and

* Recently discontinued as public-houses.

Wilton-street, were first lighted and taken under the jurisdiction of the Paving Commissioners in 1830. They had been built some few years previously. Medway-street, Allington-street, and Ship-court were not taken under control by the Commissioners until 1848.

The nomenclature of the streets in 'our parish' is easily divisible into six several groups : (1) names having relation to the Abbey and the ancient monastery, as for instance, Bowling-alley, Vine-street, Orchard-street, Great and Little Peter-street, Dean-street (now Great Smith-street), College-street, and Millbank ; (2) names traceable to the ground landlords, owners, or builders ; (3) names in honour of the Royal House ; (4) names of direct association with other local objects of importance, as Horseferry-road, Vauxhall-bridge-road, Grey-coat-place, St. John's-street, Church-street, North-street, Artillery-row, &c. ; (5) names commemorating persons of local fame, such as Monck-street, Chadwick-street, Walcott-street, Arneway-street, Johnson-street, Page-street, and Pye-street (Old and New) ; and (6) names of the fancy and imagination, concerning which it may be said that the more petty the property the more euphonious the title.

It has long been a well-established usage in the metropolis (and indeed it is general all over England) to name new streets after the christian and surname, titles and estates of the ground-landlords. This reasonable custom was in the 17th and 18th centuries carried to an extreme, of which instances can easily be found, on the Salisbury, Buckingham and Grosvenor estates. The last-mentioned family are traceable in St. John's parish, in Grosvenor-road and street ; and Warwick-street and Tachbrook-street have been ascribed to the county and town where the Grosvenor family have some property, as also is Lillington-street. Marsham-street, Earlstreet, and Romney street are derived from Charles Marsham, Earl of Romney. Bessborough-gardens, street,

and place*, and Ponsonby-place and terrace are said to owe their names to the freeholders of the lands on which they stand—the Ponsonby family, † Earls of Bessborough, Pilltown, Ireland. The Dean and Chapter of Westminster own, as has been shown elsewhere, much of the acreage of the parish, and when Tothill-fields were being built upon the new streets were, in many cases, called after members of the capitular body. By this means the extent of the Ecclesiastical property in the parish can, in a great measure, be traced. There are, first of all, Deans-place (Dorset-street) and Chapter-street; Vincent-square, street, row, court, and place; Rochester-row, Allen-street, Carey-street, Edward-street, Bentinck-street, Fynes-street, Causton-street, Bell-street, Douglas-street, Frederick-street, Bloomburg-street, Wheeler-street, and Holland-street (now Monck-street). Medway-street may have been so-called because Rochester stands on the Medway, and the Deans of Westminster were Bishops of Rochester—such is the force of association. Cobourg-row was named after Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the husband of the Princess Charlotte; and Brunswick-row in Grey-coat-place, and Brunswick-place in Regency-street bring to mind the Brunswick succession to the British Crown. Alfred-street was named after the youngest son of George III., Prince Alfred, who was born 22nd September, 1780, and died 20th August, 1782. Allen-street, Rochester-row, is named after Canon Joseph Allen, 1806.

ABINGDON-STREET—a continuation of Millbank-street, and forming the connecting link between Old Palace Yard and Millbank, derives its name from a mansion belonging to the Earls of Abingdon, which formerly stood here. At the commencement of the last century this street was known as Lindsey, or Lindsay-lane, the house in question having been previously in the possession of the Berties,

* Buonaparte-cottages and Gun-terrace were incorporated as part of Bessborough-place in 1886.

† This requires confirmation, however.

Earls of Lindsey. In 1708 the same house afterwards became the residence of Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon. A gateway used to stand at the north of Lindsay-lane, down the narrow length of which the lumbering state-carriage and eight heavily-caparisoned horses were driven into the courtyard of Lindsay House (at the south-west end of the street) in order to be turned round to take up the King when he returned from Parliament. The street was also at one time known as "Dirty Lane." At the commencement of the last century it was described, Walcott says, as a "narrow lane, pestered with coaches, which renders it dirty and inconvenient." (*See also p. 339.*)

At No. 24 in this street died, on the 2nd September, 1834, the eminent civil engineer, Thomas Telford, at the advanced age of 77. He constructed the Bridgewater canal, 1793; the Caledonian canal, 1823; the suspension bridge over the Menai straits, 1826; and the St. Katharine's docks, opened 1828. Born at Westerwick, in Dumfriesshire, on the 9th August, 1757, the son of a shepherd, who died while he was yet an infant, his life, observes a writer in the *Transactions of the Institute of Civil Engineers*, affords another striking instance of men who have, "by the force of natural talent, unaided save by uprightness and persevering industry, raised themselves from the low estate in which they were born, to take their stand among the master-spirits of their age." Telford, who also acquired some distinction as a poet in the robust, homely style of Ramsay and Fergusson, was of athletic form, and reached the age of 70 without any serious illness. He lies buried in Westminster Abbey.*

In Abingdon-street lived also the eminent architect, Joseph Gwilt, four of whose sons were educated at Westminster School.

Parliament-stairs (formerly called Queen's) were situated between Millbank and Abingdon-street. Here the Bishops

* See his *Life*, edited by Rickman.

used to land, coming from their palaces in the Strand and Southwark in their state barges, rowed by boatmen in purple and white liveries. Archbishop Wake was the last Primate (1716—1737) who came from Lambeth across ‘the silent highway’ of the Thames.

Mr. J. T. Smith in his gossipy *Book for a Rainy Day*, writes as follows:—

1801.

In the autumn of this year I passed a most agreeable day with the Hon. Hussey Delaval, at his house near Parliament Stairs. This learned and communicative gentleman was as friendly to me, as the jealousy of that well-known odd compound of nature my antagonist, John Carter, who was of our party, would allow; for with that artist's opinions as to Gothic architecture, Mr. Delaval so entirely coincided, that he employed him to provide the ornamental decorations of his house, which were mostly in putty, mixed with sand, and in some instances cast from the decorations of several Gothic structures, particularly Westminster Abbey. The apartments are ten in number, besides small offices. The lower rooms consist of two halls: in the north wall of the first are three pretty Gothic recesses for seats, for servants or persons in waiting; the second hall is filled with Gothic figures placed upon brackets under canopies. The chimney-piece and other parts of the dining parlour looking over the Thames are decorated in a similar manner; the kitchen is on the same floor towards the north. The staircase leading to the first floor, is a truly tasteful little specimen, not equalled by anything at Strawberry Hill. The drawing room and library also look over the water. On the same floor are two bed chambers towards the west; above are two attics with a door opening upon the embattled leads over the drawing room. Upon these leads we took our wine, and here enjoyed the glowing Cuypp-like effect of the sun, upon west country barges laden either with blocks of stone, or fresh-cut timber, objects ever picturesque on the water.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1799, informs us that on the 7th of that month—

Mr. John Churchill, brother to the celebrated satirist, died at his house here. Jack Churchill (for such was the familiar name by which he was generally called by the numerous circle of friends who admired his good-humour and companionable qualities) possessed an uncommon knowledge of mankind; and no one had a more ready turn for repartee. His wit, though pointed, was so much softened by a jovial pleasantry, that the object of it was content to join in the laugh at his own expence without feeling any resentment. Mr. C. like his brother, was strongly inclined towards politicks. Mr. C.'s habits were, however, fixed too strongly before he ventured into public life to be

very useful in such a situation ; for he was too social, and too much inclined to the enjoyment of private ease, for the spirit of ambition to be capable of rousing him into the continual exertion which public stations might require. The illness which put a period to life had longed preyed upon him ; and it is to be regretted that it was not borne with the degree of fortitude that might have been expected from his good sense and manly character.

Here also died in January, 1791, William Pearce, Esq., a nephew to the Bishop of Rochester.

Pepys was a frequenter of the Heaven Tavern in Lindsay-lane, now the site of the Committee Rooms of the House of Commons.

ABINGDON-BUILDINGS—ran from Abingdon-street to the Thames, opposite Great-College-street. They were swept away on the erection of the new Houses of Parliament. Mr. Barnard, who was tried on May 11th, 1758, for addressing threatening letters to the Duke of Manchester, resided in Abingdon-buildings.

It may be mentioned here that the Victoria Tower and the Chancellor's Court, Royal Gallery, and Royal Court of the House of Lords are in St. John's parish.

Richard Cumberland (1732—1811) after his marriage lived in Abingdon-buildings.

ARNEWAY-STREET—was known until 1889 as Allington-street, when it was re-named in order to avoid confusion with a street of the same name near Victoria-station, in the neighbouring parish, and at the same time to perpetuate the memory of Thomas Arneway, the founder of Arneway's Trust, which dates from 1603. Its object is to advance sums of money, not exceeding £200 each, to honest young men being occupiers or traders in Westminster, at three per cent. interest ; further particulars are given in *The Parochial Charities of Westminster*, 1890. In a recess in the wall of the north side of St. Margaret's Church is an antique monument of two figures in ruffles, kneeling on either side of a prie-dieu, with an inscription to the memory

of Thomas Arneway (buried Dec. 8, 1603) and his wife Margaret, with some verses, of which the last line reads :—

“Of such men as this Arnwaye God make the number large.”

ARTILLERY-ROW — Artillery-place, Artillery-buildings, and Artillery-square (Strutton-ground), indicate more or less faithfully the old Artillery practice ground, where the men of Westminster at one time used to practice at the “Butts.” (*See page 282 ante*). The name of Artillery-terrace (4 to 16, Artillery-row) was abolished in 1876. Part of Brewer’s-green extended to the rear of the east side of Artillery-row.

BARTON-STREET and COWLEY-STREET—were named after Barton Booth, the actor, much of whose property lay in Westminster. Cowley, in Middlesex, was the name of his country residence. This eminent actor, who was descended from an ancient and honourable Lancashire family, was born in 1681, and educated at Westminster school under Dr. Busby. The grace of his action and the sweetness of his voice were first remarked in one of the school exhibitions, when the great applause he met with was, on his own confession, the first spur to his theatrical ambition. He ran away from Cambridge and joined a company of strolling players. He made his greatest “hit” in 1712, when he identified himself with Addison’s “Cato.” His dignity, energy, and pathos as that lover of liberty were so consummate, that on the first night Lord Bolingbroke and the Tories presented him with a purse of fifty guineas, collected in the boxes during the performance, “as a slight acknowledgment of his honest opposition to a perpetual dictator, and his dying so bravely in the cause of liberty.”* Aaron Hill tells us that statistics proved that Booth could always obtain from eighteen to twenty rounds of applause during the evening. Booth’s masterpiece as an actor is said by Cibber to have been

* See Pope’s letter to Trumbull, 30th April, 1713, where he describes the “first night,”

Othello ; but his favourite part was the Ghost in "Hamlet," a performance, says Macklin, which has never been imitated successfully. His tone, his manner, and gait were so unearthly, that the audience appeared to be under the impression that a positive spectre stood before them. Once when playing the Ghost to Betterton's "Hamlet," he is said to have been so horror-stricken as to be unable to proceed with his part. Booth often took inferior Shakespearian parts ; but if he saw a man in the audience whose good opinion he valued, he would fire up and play to him. Victor, speaking of his person, says "he was of a middle stature, five feet eight, his form rather inclining to the athletic, his air and deportment naturally graceful, with a marking eye, and a manly sweetness in his countenance. His voice was completely harmonious, from the softness of the flute to the extent of the trumpet." So much was he in favour with the rich and noble, that though he had no equipage of his own, there was not a nobleman in the kingdom, says Chetwood, who had so many sets of horses at his command. Booth was twice married ; first, in 1704 to a daughter of Sir W. Barkham, and secondly, after nine years' widowerhood, to the beautiful and wealthy actress, Miss Hester Saintlow, the mistress, when young, of the great Duke of Marlborough, the "Santlow, fam'd for dance," commemorated by Gay. His will (printed in the *London Magazine* for 1733), bears strong testimony to his regard for her. This petted "actor-manager" died May 10, 1733, and is buried at Cowley, near Uxbridge. His bust in Poets' Corner, erected by his second wife (who became Mrs. Laidlaw), in 1772, "is probably," says Dean Stanley, "as much owing to his connection with Westminster as to his histrionic talent." Pope makes frequent references to him—

Booth enters—hark ! the universal peal !

"But has he spoken ?" Not a syllable.

What shook the stage and made the people stare ?

Cato's long wig, flow'ring gown, and lacquered chair.

EP. I.

Or well-mouthed Booth with emphasis proclaims
(Though but perhaps a muster-roll of names)—

SAT. I.

alluding to an absurd custom of actors in those days to pronounce with emphasis the mere proper names of Greeks and Romans, which, as they called it, 'filled the mouth of the player.' The poet, it should be mentioned, strongly disliked Barton Booth; perhaps his ill-nature was not pleased with the universal popularity of the great actor.

As we have seen, Walcott, and all who have copied him, are in error in supposing that Cowley-street was named after the poet. It is almost a pity that such is not the case, for not only was Abraham Cowley, an "old Westminster," but the quietude of this corner of Westminster would have suggested, in the fitness of things, that it should bear the name of the peace-loving essayist and poet, who tells us, in his essay *On Myself*—

As far as my memory can return back into my past life, before I knew or was capable of guessing what the world, or glories, or business of it were, the natural affections of my soul gave me a secret bent of aversion from them, as some plants are said to turn away from others, by an antipathy imperceptible to themselves and inscrutable to man's understanding. Even when I was a very young boy at school, instead of running about on holidays and playing with my fellows, I was wont to steal from them and walk into the fields, either alone with a book, or with some one companion, if I could find any of the same temper.

This only grant me, that my means may be
Too low for envy, for contempt too high.
Some honour I would have,
Not from great deeds, but good alone
The unknown are better than ill known.
- Rumour can ope the grave;
Acquaintance I would have, but when it depends
Not on the number but the choice of friends.

It was in Tothill-fields that the gentle boy poet—who knew Spencer when he was but twelve—used listlessly to roam 'in maiden meditation.' He died 28th July, 1667, the year also of the death of Jeremy Taylor, who was so like him, and of the birth of Jonathan Swift, who was so

unlike him. To quote from the beautiful verses he himself wrote of his dear friend, William Hervey :—

With as much zeal, devotion, piety,
 He always lived as other saints do die.
 Still with his soul severe account he kept,
 Weeping all debts out ere he slept ;
 Then down in peace and innocence he lay,
 Like the sun's laborious light,
 Which still in water sets at night,
 Unsullied with the journey of the day.

At the corner of Barton-street (east side) with Great College-street, there is a stone built into the wall, cut with the name and date, "Barton-street, 1722." There is a similar stone at the corner of Cowley-street with Barton-street, but no date is given, or at any rate distinguishable. Both streets were undoubtedly built at the same time.

Rebecca Aldridge, who left a bequest to the parish (*see chap. XVI.*), lived and died in Barton-street.

Until three years ago the old 'Salutation' public-house, which stood at the corner of Barton-street and Cowley-street, reminded us that inns in other days used frequently to bear signs of a religious character. Originally the sign represented the Virgin being saluted by the angel Gabriel. In the prayerful days of the Commonwealth, this sign, which was not uncommon in London (as may be seen from the tavern tokens preserved at the Guildhall Museum), became changed to the 'Soldier and Citizen,' the sign representing two men ceremoniously greeting each other. But though the sign may have changed, the purpose of the inn, for Roundhead or Cavalier, was ever the same. As the old-time Cockney poet, friend of Chaucer, quaintly confessed—

The outward sign of Bacchus and his lure,
 That at his dooré hangeth day by day,
 Exciteth folk to taste of his moisture
 So often that men cannot well say nay.
 For me, I say I was inclinéd aye
 Withouten danger thither for to hie me,
 But if such charge upon my back lay,
 That I mote it forbear as for a timé.

BELL-STREET, Vincent-square — was named after the great educationalist, Dr. Andrew Bell, the only Scottish Prebendary of Westminster, born 1752. Dr. Bell's famous system of mutual instruction was first introduced at Madras, where he became chaplain, 1789. Coming to England he founded many elementary schools in London and elsewhere on what was known as the Madras scheme of education in 1807 *et seq.* In fact he was the projector and founder of the "National Schools." During his residence in the East Indies Dr. Bell acquired considerable property which, with his preferments, enabled him to bequeath no less than £120,000 in support of national institutions and public charities. This benevolent man died at Cheltenham, 27th January, 1832. He lies in the South aisle of the Abbey, his monument mistakenly giving the date of his installation as 1810, instead of 1819.*

In Bell-street is Bell-court.

BENTINCK-STREET—Vauxhall-bridge-road is so named after the Rev. W. H. E. Bentinck, Archdeacon and Prebendary of Westminster (1809), who built the beautiful church of Holy Trinity, in Bessborough-gardens, at the foot of Vauxhall-bridge. (*See page 239.*)

BLOOMBURG-STREET—as it is erroneously spelt, and Frederick-street, are named after Canon Frederick Blomberg, 1808. Three houses on the west side of the Vauxhall-bridge-road, until 1890 considered as being in Bloomburg-street, were then made part of Charlwood-street.

CAREY-STREET,—Vincent-square, perpetuates the name in Westminster of William Carey, D.D. (born Nov. 18, 1769), a distinguished Westminster scholar. He stood head of the election to Oxford in 1789, and was appointed head-master of Westminster School in 1803, although his youth caused many to express disapproval. Dr. Carey was nominated a prebendary of Westminster in 1809. In December, 1814, he

* Stanley's *Memorials* ; Dic. of Nat. Biog.

resigned the head-mastership, and retired to his vicarage of Sutton-in-the-Forest, York. He was made Bishop of Exeter, 1820, and translated to the See of St. Asaph, 1830. He died Sept. 13, 1866. Bishop Carey bequeathed £20,000 to be invested in Three per cents., the interest of which was to be divided annually amongst the Westminster students at Christchurch, Oxford.*

There is also a Carey-place in the Vauxhall-bridge-road. A Bedford-court was incorporated as part of Carey-place in 1886.

CAUSTON-STREET—was called after Canon Thomas Causton, 1799. In Causton-street are Clarke's-cottages and Gulston's-cottages.

A Mr. Gulston was proprietor of the "White Hart," at the corner of Millbank-row, in 1817. The name is an uncommon one, and it is a legitimate surmise that the respected *bourgeois*, Mr. Gulston, who was an active man in the parish, having built a row of cottages, boldly made answer to Cowley's question—

What shall I do to be for ever known,
And make the age to come my own?

by assigning his patronymic to a property which even Strype, in his most lenient mood, would have called "but ordinary."

CHADWICK-STREET—running south and west from Great Peter-street into the Horseferry-road, was known until 1889 as "New Peter-street." The alteration was made in consequence of confusion with Great and Little Peter-streets, and the name was chosen by the United Vestry to commemorate a munificent donor to Palmer's and Hill's alms-houses—Mrs. Hannah Sarah Chadwick, who, in 1859, gave a donation of £1,500 three per cent. annuities to the alms-houses in memory of her husband, Mr. James Chadwick, a former governor of the charities, and in the following year a like sum, the interest in each case to be devoted to the

* *Gent. Mag.* for 1846, Vol. XXVI.

increase of the stipends of the almspeople or ever. Two fine portraits in oils of Mr. and Mrs. Chadwick hang in the board-room of the new united alms-houses in Rochester-row.

In COBOURG-ROW (*see page 397*)—were, until 1886, the subsidiary names of St. Margaret's-terrace (Nos. 2 to 38), Rochester-place (Nos. 21 to 39), and Spencer-terrace (Nos. 1 to 19). The boundary line between the sister parishes proceeds along this thoroughfare.

(GREAT) COLLEGE-STREET—is perhaps one of the most ancient streets in Westminster. As has been mentioned elsewhere (*p.* 348) a stream once ran down the street, forming the southern boundary of the Abbey-gardens, and the abbots were wont to take boat on this rivulet to go to the Thames. There was a large pond close by.* Abbot Littlington built the wall on the north side. The invaluable Seymour thus describes the locality as it appeared in 1735—

“*College-street*, formerly called the *Dead-wall*, as lying against the wall of the College-garden and *Lindsey-garden*: It has buildings only on the south side, which are pretty good, the north side being the wall: In this street is *Piper's-ground*, which has, at present, a few houses built, the rest lying waste: Here is also *Brick-court*, an indifferent place.”

Wealthy, well-born, and famous people have lived in this street. In Gibbon's *Memoirs of My Life and Writings*, are to be found more than one reference to College-street, where his aunt, Mrs. Catherine Porten, kept a boarding house for Westminster boys, during Gibbon's brief stay at Westminster School (1749, 1750). He says: “After the Christmas holidays, in January, 1749, I accompanied Mrs. Porten to her new house in College-street, and was immediately entered in the school, of which Dr. John Nicoll was at that time head-master. At first I was alone: but my aunt's resolution was praised; † her character was

* Stanley's *Memorials*; *p.* 338, note 9.

† Her father, James Porten, was an absconding bankrupt; and Mrs. Porten resolved to follow “the humble industry of keeping a boarding-house for Westminster School, where she laboriously earned a competence for her old age.”

esteemed ; her friends were numerous and active : in the course of some years she became the [foster] mother of forty or fifty boys, for the most part of family and fortune ; and as her primitive habitation was too narrow, she built and occupied a spacious mansion in Dean's-yard." But Gibbon was too delicate for the robust life of a public school ; as he himself tells us : " Instead of audaciously mingling in the sports, the quarrels, and the connections of our little world, I was still cherished at home under the maternal wing of my aunt ; and my removal from Westminster long preceded the approach of manhood"; and again elsewhere, " My name, it is most true, could never be enrolled among the sprightly race, the idle progeny of Eton or Westminster,—

Who foremost may delight to cleave,
With pliant arm, the glassy wave,
Or urge the flying ball."

In after life the magnificent historian proved himself a grateful nephew. Speaking of his return from the continent, in 1758, he writes :—

" The only person in England whom I was impatient to see was my aunt Porten, the affectionate guardian of my tender years. I hastened to her house in College-street, Westminster, and the evening was spent in effusions of joy and confidence. It was not without some awe and apprehension that I approached the presence of my father. My infancy, to speak the truth, had been neglected at home ; the severity of his look and language at our last parting still dwelt on my memory, nor could I form any notion of his character or my probable reception. They were both more agreeable than I could expect. The domestic discipline of our ancestors has been relaxed by the philosophy and softness of the age ; and if my father remembered that he had trembled before a stern parent, it was only to adopt with his own son an opposite mode of behaviour."

The architect of the " golden bridge across the middle ages" died in St. James's-street, January 16th, 1794.

College-street can proudly boast, too, of association with that true poet, John Keats (1795-1821), who dated letters of his to Fanny Brawne, in 1819, from Great Smith-street

and 25, College-street, Westminster. No. 25 was near the corner of the present Tufton-street.* 'Poor Keats' had boasted, in a letter to Mr. Dilke,† the editor of *The Athenæum*, that he had never "given in to the sovereign power of Love" at that time (1818); but, very soon after this date, the present Sir Charles Dilke justly remarks, the poet "gave in" to a passion "which killed him as surely as ever any man was killed by love."

Too early banished from thy place of birth,
By tyrant Pain, thy too bright Spirit fled!
Too late came love to shew the world thy worth!
Too late came Glory for thy youthful head!

PROCTOR'S *Elegy*.

Walcott has the following amusing anecdote of the eccentric author, Paul Hiffernan, *alias* "Go your way":—

"To try how far Paul Hiffernan, a man of learning and ingenuity, would 'go your way,' a gentleman of his acquaintance, after treating him with a good supper at the Bedford Coffee-house, took his hand, and said, 'Good night, Paul.' 'Stay,' cried the other, 'I am going your way.' His friend went onward, out of his own way, with Paul to Limehouse, whiling the distance by prophetic encomiums upon Paul's tragedy, 'The Heroine of the Cave.' He then brought him back to Carpenter's, in Covent Garden, at three o'clock in the morning; when, after drinking some coffee and punch, a new departure was taken, with 'Good Morning, Paul; I am going to the Blue Boar, Holborn.' 'Well, says Hiffernan, 'that is in my way.' He at last took his leave, after seeing his friend pass the gate of the hotel, at five in the morning; and afterwards walked leisurely home to his lodgings in College-street, Westminster, next door to the latter, where he died about 1780."

Rose's *Biographical Dictionary* says of him that "though acquainted with Foote, Garrick, Goldsmith, Murphy, Kelly, and others, he yet seldom appeared decently respectable; and so great were his eccentricities that he never would mention where his lodgings were. He died June, 1777, and it was then discovered that he had lodged in one of the obscure courts near St. Martin's-lane." Mr. Walcott must

* Hutton's *Literary Landmarks of London*.

† Sir Charles Dilke's *Memoir* of his grandfather, Mr. C. W. Dilke, prefaced to *Papers of a Critic*.

have made a mistake, for the foregoing is confirmed by articles in the *European Magazine*, Vol. XXV, pp. 110, 179, and by Baker's *Biographica Dramatica*—

“ In short, with no principles and slender abilities, he was perpetually disgracing literature, which he was doomed to follow for bread, by such a conduct as was even unworthy of the lowest and most contemptible of the vulgar. His conversation was highly offensive to decency and good manners, and after an irregular and shameful life, oppressed by poverty, and in the latter part of it by disease, he ended a miserable existence in June, 1777.” His *Theory on the Art of Acting* is only to be remembered for its eccentricity. It concludes—

“ Farewell, ye cauliflowers on the proud tops
Of brimming tankards, I never more shall see—
Hard—Hard fate ! ”

The following notices are quoted from the *Gentleman's Magazine* :—

July 8th, 1805. At his house in College-street, Westminster, aged 81. Col. Teesdale.

30 May, 1806. In his 79th year, Mr. Thomas Lambert, of College-street, Westminster : well known to the inhabitants, but more particularly to those of the parish of St. John, where he had filled an official situation, for 28 years, with such exemplary faith and regularity as to cause the gentlemen of that parish, in his decline of life, to withdraw him from their employ, with a suitable provision during its remainder. He assisted as an attendant at Westminster abbey on the coronation of his Majesty : and had lived upwards of 49 years in one house.

Feb. 26, 1830. In College-street, Westminster, aged 63, Mr. William Ginger, bookseller to Westminster School, and a member of the Court of Assistants of the Stationers' Company ; and son of Mr. William Ginger, who preceded him in the same business, and died in 1803. A third generation now succeeds.

The historian of *Westminster School Past and Present* (1883) says :—“ The last of the Gingers died a few years ago. The family were the school booksellers for nearly a century.” Theirs must have been a lucrative business, for the same writer tells us “ Quill pens only were used in the school, and it was an established custom never to use a pen on two occasions. An exercise written, the pen was thrown on the ground. Little round glass ink-bottles, with a piece of cotton wool in the centre, were used by all the boys.

These were called 'dips,' and could be carried two or three together in one pocket. The only paper used for school purposes was in single sheets of a small quarto size, called 'quarterns.'"

The curious visitor to Great College-street may have often remarked that Abbot Littlington's wall has been at some recent time heightened by several feet of brick work, with a by no means elegant fringe of broken glass on top; and the enquiry may well have suggested itself, Why this bizarre, not to say unseemly, addition? This explanation is afforded by Lord Albemarle in his *Fifty Years of my Life*. The noble author (who was born 1799) entered Westminster School 1809-10, and left in the memorable year 1815, under the following amusing circumstances as told by himself:—

Passing through Dean's Yard from the north, you come upon *Great College-street*—a single row of shabby-looking houses facing a stone wall which Dr. Stanley, the Dean, tells me was built by Abbot Livingstone* in the reign of Edward the Third, at the same time as the Jerusalem Chamber and the College Hall. But the wall, ancient though it be, has less of personal interest to me than the modern superstructure by which it is now surmounted.

When I first went to Westminster a lamp iron was fixed in the wall, of which the use—at least the only one to which I saw it applied—was to enable Mother Grant's boarders to let themselves down into College-street after lock-up hours. I took kindly to the prevailing fashion, and the school authorities—not wise in their generation—rendered it still easier to follow, by allowing a building to abut on the inside wall.

But on my return to school after the Bartlemy-tide holidays in 1814, I found that the wall had been considerably raised, and the top covered with broken glass-bottles which remain to the present day.

How to circumvent the enemy was the question. I took into my counsel the school crispin, one Cobbler Foot by name, an old man-of-war's man, and he made for me a rope ladder, a "Jacob's ladder," I think they call it, similar to that made for ascending the sides of ships of small burden. Thus provided, I climbed the wall with much less risk to my neck than *via* the lamp iron.

On the 18th of March, 1815, on my return from the play, the scaling apparatus was all ready for me at the street side of Abbot Livingstone's wall, but great was my disgust, when on reaching my room I found the

* *Sic.* Read *Littlington*.

lay figure which I had left in my bed to personate me in my absence, lying piecemeal on the floor ; my escapade was no longer a secret to the authorities.

The next morning when I went into school, I was sorely puzzled at the silence in which so serious a breach of discipline seemed to be passed over. The mystery was solved next day. A letter from my father informed me that my school-days had come to an end ; enclosed was one from Dr. Page to him, dissuading him from thinking any more of a learned profession for me, and recommending him to choose one in which physical rather than mental exertion would be a requisite.

The sleepy old-town quietness of this street, and those in the immediate vicinity (Barton-street, Cowley-street, North-street, Smith-square, &c.) has perhaps been remarked by every stranger who has suddenly found himself in it, after the bustle of Parliament-square and Millbank, or the squalid appearance of Tufton and Marsham-streets close by. Lord Beaconsfield has remarked it in one of his novels (*see page 46*), and Mr. Percy Fitzgerald, in *Picturesque London* (1890), has done full justice to the vivid Rembrandt-like contrast of the street to its immediate surroundings—contrasts, be it said, in which London abounds, and affords attraction to the American or foreign visitor :—

On passing out at the other end of Dean's Yard we find ourselves in a tranquil old fashioned street, College street. This might be a portion of a close in an old cathedral, so placid and silent is it ; the houses being of that small, unpretending order in which canons and choristers might reside. There are carved doorways, there is cheerful red-brick, while a few houses are overgrown from top to bottom with a rich clothing of greenery. At the end we have a glimpse of the river and barges passing lazily by. In front stretches the old cobble wall of the Abbey gardens, full of old trees The district round seems to partake of this conventual and retiring character.

Walcott dates his *History of St. Margaret's Church* (1847), and his *Memorials* (1849), from 7, Great College-street. Mackenzie Edward Charles Walcott, B.D., F.S.A., the historian *par excellence* of Westminster, was the only son of Admiral J. E. Walcott, and was born at Bath, 1822, and educated at Winchester, and Exeter College, Oxford. He was for some years curate of St. Margaret's, then evening lecturer at St. James', Piccadilly, and minister of Berkeley

Chapel, Mayfair, from 1867 to 1870. Mr. Walcott was the author of a large number of antiquarian and ecclesiological works. In addition to these may be mentioned—*Handbook for St. James, William of Wykeham and His Colleges, Cathedralia, Sacred Archæology, History of Battle Abbey, &c., &c.* Several volumes of MS. materials collected by him for a history of cathedrals and conventual foundations in England, are preserved in the British Museum. He died at his residence in Belgrave-road, 22nd December, 1880.

Another celebrated antiquarian, who lived at one time in College-street, was William John Thoms, the founder and editor of that most delightful medium of intercommunication for literary men and general readers, the ever-green *Notes and Queries*. Mr. Thoms, was born on November 16th, 1803, in this street. The late Mr. T. C. Noble, in a paper to *Notes and Queries* of October 17th, 1885, has disclosed the fact that the register of his baptism in St. Margaret's Church, December 15th, 1803, originally recorded his name as simply "John Thoms, son of Nathaniel by Ruth Ann, [born] November 16." This curious error was corrected in 1857 by a sworn affidavit made by his aunt, Mary Ann Thoms, spinster. The declaration made June 2nd, states that "my late brother the said Nathaniel Thoms and his wife Ruth Ann Thoms had issue of their marriage only one child, my nephew, William John Thoms, now of No. 25, Holywell-street, Millbank, Westminster, who was born on the 16th day of November, 1803, that I was present at his baptism at St. Margaret's Church, on the 15th day of December, following, that I stood godmother to my said nephew, who was baptised by the name of William John, and that he has ever since been called and known as William John Thoms, and I make this declaration for the purpose of correcting the erroneous entry in the register of baptisms at St. Margaret's, Westminster. . . ." Mr. Thoms, whom Westminster can therefore claim as its own, began active life as a clerk

in the secretary's office, Chelsea Hospital. He was elected in 1838 a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and in the same year became secretary of the Camden Society, a post he held until 1873. During many years he held an appointment in the House of Lords, and in 1863 was appointed deputy-librarian of the House of Lords, a position he resigned in consequence of old age in 1882. The first number of *Notes and Queries* was published Nov. 3, 1849; Mr. Thoms has himself in vols. VI. and VII. of the Fifth Series, left on record the circumstances under which the periodical was conceived, named, and started. A sound and accurate scholar, the close friend during more than half a century of the best English and foreign men of letters, Mr. Thoms had in an eminent degree the serviceable gift of knowing where information was to be found. He was before all things a student; the stores of his admirably furnished mind were at the service of anyone engaged in earnest work; but he was retiring in nature, little given to promiscuous hospitality, and little addicted to the life of clubs. Mr. Thoms was elected a Vestryman of St. John's in April, 1852, when he was living in Great College-street in the house occupied by Nathaniel Thoms before him.

Among the proofs of his happiness in hitting on names may be cited his choice of '*Notes and Queries*,' his invention of the word 'folk-lore,' and his application to the churchyard of the term 'God's acre,' taken from the German, and immediately seized upon by the public. Mr. Thoms died at his house in St. George's-square, Belgrave-road, on Saturday, August 15th, 1885, in the 82nd year of his age.* *Notes and Queries* was bought by Sir C. W. Dilke, about August, 1872. All antiquarians must most heartily endorse the words Mr. Thoms himself used at the commencement of the Sixth Series—"Long may my offspring occupy the position which it so worthily fills; and long may the con-

* *Notes and Queries*, Aug. 22, 1885.

tributors to dear old *N. & Q.* greet each new series as I do this, *Floreat ! Floreat ! Floreat !*"

LITTLE COLLEGE STREET—was formerly known as "Pipe's or Piper's-ground." Seymour, in 1735, mentions that it then consisted of "a few houses built, the rest lying waste."

The London home of the brothers Wesley after they had left Oxford, was at the house of the Rev. Mr. Hutton, in Little College-street, where he took Westminster boys to board. He was a non-juring clergyman, who had resigned his living because he could not take the oaths on the accession of George I. Mr. Benham in his life of Hutton, says that Samuel Wesley lived next door, but he heads his letters 'Dean's-yard.' Samuel Wesley was an usher of the school for nearly 20 years and a candidate for the under-mastership, but he lost it through his fidelity to Atterbury. His brother Charles was also educated at Westminster, and James Hutton (1715—1795) who had also been a Westminster scholar, went to visit some of his old schoolfellows at Oxford not long before the Wesleys sailed for Georgia. He thus met Charles Wesley, who introduced him to John.* It was John Wesley who introduced young Hutton in 1738 to Peter Böhler, then on his way with two friends from Germany to Georgia, and Hutton thenceforth inclined to Moravianism.† A lodging was found for the German friends near Mr. Hutton's. On Charles Wesley's return from Georgia in December, 1736, James Hutton sought him out and took him to his father's house in College-street. "My reception," he writes,

* John Wesley was educated at the Charterhouse, not at Westminster.

† John Wesley tried in vain to induce Hutton to follow his example, but he continued an active Moravian till his death, although he and Wesley became reconciled in after life. "Pray," Lord Shelborne once asked him, "on what footing are you with the methodists?" "They *kick* us whenever they can," answered Hutton. George III., the Queen, and Dr. Franklin were among his acquaintance. He may be called the founder of the Moravian Church in England. He died on May 3, 1795, at Oxted-cottage, near Godstone, Surrey, where he had lived for nearly two years with the Misses Biscoe and Shelley.

"was such as I expected from a family that entirely loved me, but had given me over for dead, and bewailed me as their own child." When John returned to England in 1738 he also found a home at Mr. Hutton's. Charles Wesley greatly offended Mrs. Hutton in May of the same year, by preferring to lodge with Bray, the brazier of Little Britain, rather than in College-street. She wrote to Samuel Wesley at Tiverton "Mr. Charles went from my son's [the book-seller's shop west of Temple Bar] where he lay ill for some time, and would not come to our house, but chose to go to a poor brazier's in Little Britain, that that brazier might help him in his conversion."

Gayfere, the Abbey mason, and an active participator in parochial affairs, also lived in Little College-street. He restored Henry the Seventh's Chapel,

COLLEGE-COURT.—"From his house in College-court, on May 13, 1703, Edward Jones, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, was borne to his long home in the chancel of St. Margaret's Church" (*Walcott*). A plan given in Smith's *Antiquities*, engraved from a drawing possessed by the Commissioners of Westminster Bridge, and taken between 1734 and 1738, shows College-court as a narrow court lying between Great Smith-street and Dean's-yard. It led out from some stabling, to which access was obtained from Dean's-yard, into "Smith-street."

Seymour (1735), after describing Dean's-yard, says:—

And on the north side is a Place called the Stable-yards, at the entrance into which are good houses, but that part leading to Orchard-street, is taken for stabling and coach-houses, but near the entrance is a new built Court, called College-court, with Handsome genteel Houses, with a Freestone Pavement, which hath a thoroughfare Passage.

The name of DOUGLAS-STREET has no reference whatever to Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, the Bell-the-Cat of Scott's *Marmion*. Canon William Douglas (1807) gave the street its name.

Douglas-street was on both sides of Vincent-square (that

is, it extended from Rochester-row to Regency-street, but was divided by Vincent-square until 1889, when the small part between Rochester-row and Vincent-square was re-named Walcott-street. In Douglas-street are Douglas-place and Douglas-gardens. The houses in this street were re-numbered in 1876-7.

EARL-STREET.—*See pages 396 and 420.*

FREDERICK-STREET.—*See page 397.*

FYNES-STREET—a short street connecting Vincent-square and Regency-street, is named after Charles Fynes Clinton, Canon Prebendary of the Abbey in 1788, and Rector of St. Margaret's in 1796.

That GARDEN-STREET, Vauxhall-bridge-road, was so named because built on a market garden, may perhaps be accepted without much cavil. There is also a Garden-place in Bell-street.

GREY COAT-PLACE—and Grey Coat-street derive their name from Queen Anne's really noble foundation of the Grey Coat Hospital, of which some account is given in Chapter XV. Grey Coat-place faces the school, which is flanked on the west side by Grey Coat-street, and on the east by the Horseferry-road. In the wide space at the junction of Old Rochester-row and Rochester-row, once stood the parish Pound-house, a carpenter's shop, and a fine old tree. The buildings—Pound-place—were removed, and the site added to the public highway in 1864-5. Mill's-buildings, Brunswick-row and Pond-court (now called Bond-court) are on the north side of Grey Coat-place.

GROSVENOR-ROAD—has been already dealt with in a preceding chapter. The houses were re-numbered in 1878. In 1888 Devon-place (that part of Grosvenor-street which comes out of Page-street) was incorporated with Grosvenor-street.

The HORSEFERRY-ROAD has been called 'that ancient causeway,' and with reason, for the 'road to the Ferry'

must have been almost coeval with the ferry itself. For centuries it was nothing more than a track for horsemen and pedestrians to and from the ferry-boat. The cart-track was full of ruts and holes, and well-nigh impassable in wet weather, and it was a route that was fraught with danger to the wayfarer so soon as dusk set in. Highway-men and sanctuary ruffians would here lie in wait for any who might be so foolhardy as to attempt to pass along the solitary road alone or unarmed. Within the present century the site of the Gas Light and Coke Co.'s offices was occupied by a well-known market garden ; and a tea-garden, graced with tall poplars, which once existed here, is still perpetuated in the name of the public-house, 'The White Horse and Bower,' at the corner of Monck-street. But perhaps the most historic place of public call was the 'Old King's Head.' A newly-constructed house at the corner of Earl-street still bears the old sign and the date 1645. A hostelry is considered to have been first erected here—perhaps a mere wooden shanty—for the accommodation of ferry passengers, about the same time as the Parliament built the wooden guard-house at the ferry for the scrutiny and detention of "malignants." At the time of the Restoration, the wayside inn first obtained, with many hundred others throughout the country, its sign of the 'King's Head.' To this house it is generally supposed that, in the dark hours of the morning of the 9th December, 1688, de Lauzun and Sir Edward Hales called for lights to conduct them to the swollen river when the Queen of James II. and her infant son fled the country.

MARKET-STREET—extended from Johnson-street to the Horse-ferry. In 1865 it was incorporated with the Horse-ferry-road. It derived its name from the right of holding "one market at Touthall every Monday ; and one fair to be held annually in the same place, on the Eve Day, and day following St. Mary Magdalene," which was granted by King Henry III., in a charter to the Abbot and Convent.

The history of this fair will be found at page 265. Seymour says of it (1735) "Market-street falls into the Mill-bank, and is but ordinary." The rate-book for 1782, for St. John's parish, shows a—

Mr. Gayfere to be rated for "a house and two fields" in Market-street, £40; also Josh^s. Saunders "for a field" in the same street, at £20; and Wm. Barrow "for a house and two fields" in the same street at £60.

The Order of the Metropolitan Board (6th Jan., 1865) which incorporated Market-street, also abolished the subsidiary names of Cobourg-terrace (five houses counting from Tufton-street, now 64-72, Horseferry-road), Cobourg-row (three houses, now 74-78, Horseferry road), and Romney-terrace, from Monck-street to Arneway-street; and on the south side, Grosvenor-terrace, six houses from Broadwood's to Regent-place.

Ship-court is a narrow lane connecting Horseferry-road and Bell-street. The 'Ship' for some reason or other, not now traceable, appears to have been a favourite sign in Westminster; there are now no less than four public-houses bearing this sign within 'our parish.' Cottage-place was the name of the houses on the north side until 1883. In this place are a few two-roomed cottages, with small forecourts, in which attempts are made in the summer season to cultivate a few of the hardier flowers. One of these small gardens is noticeable as containing a well-grown fig-tree and a common grape-vine roughly trained over a rude seat, so that the occupier is able to sit at once "under his vine and under his fig-tree."

A Ship-court in York-street, St. Margaret's parish, was re-named Kifford-court in 1888, in order to avoid confusion with this court.

GRUB-STREET—Fame, though it "hath a thousand several tongues," has not one to spare for the brave retreat in the Horseferry-road bearing the euphonistic name of

Grub! In the words of Pope, the compiler of these discursive pages hopes that each gentle reader—

“— from all Grub-street will my fame defend.”

SAT. I.

York-buildings is a narrow court on the east side of Grub-street, now closed as unfit for human habitation.

Champion's-alley and Carpenter-street run parallel to Grub-street, between Romney-street and Horseferry-road.

JOHNSON-STREET—is named after the Alderman and Churchwarden (*see page 151*) who built this and other streets in the vicinity. Appropriately enough there is a 'Paviors' Arms' in this street.

LAUNDRY-YARD—may be allowed to explain its derivation for itself; its inhabitants possess a natural and native eloquence all their own. To quote Pope's ludicrous imitation of Spenser:—

There oft are heard the notes of infant woe,
The short thick sob, loud scream, and shriller squall :
How can ye, mothers, vex your children so ?
Some play, some eat, some nestle by the wall,
And as they crouchen low, for bread and butter call.

At every door are sunburnt matrons seen,
Now singing shrill, and scolding eft between
—Scolds answer foul-mouth'd scolds ; bad neighbourhood I ween !

Cooke's *Local Directory* 1847, mentions a Derby-place, Laundry-yard.

LILLINGTON-STREET.—Lillington is the name of a parish and town adjoining Leamington in Warwickshire.

MARSHAM-STREET, EARL-STREET, ROMNEY-STREET—were all named after Charles Marsham, Earl of Romney (creat. 1801), the owner of the property. The noble family of Marsham trace themselves to a man whose chief distinction it was that he was one of the most eminent scholars of his age, as the founder of their hereditary honours. John Marsham was one of six sons and four daughters of a London alderman. Born in 1602, he went from Westminster School to St. John's College, Oxford, in 1619.

The subject to which his mind was particularly directed is one of peculiar intricacy and difficulty—the disentanglement of the conflicting statements in early writers concerning ancient dynasties and events in the earliest periods of history. This learned chronologist published *Chronicus Canon Ægyptiacus, Ebraicus, et Græcus* in 1672, the work for which he is most celebrated. He was knighted, and afterwards created a baronet (1663) at the Restoration. He died 25th May, 1685. The family took its name from possessions at Marsham, in Norfolk, *circa* 1100. Sir John was not only learned himself, but his two sons, Sir John Marsham of Cuxton and Sir Robert Marsham of Bushy, were also studious and learned men. The son of Sir Robert was created Baron Romney by King George I. in the second year of his reign (1716). According to Dod's *Peerage*, the first peer represented Maidstone in several parliaments; and the third earl sat for West Kent. The earldom dates from 1801.

Marsham-street is described by Seymour, who wrote in 1735, as being “long and straight, with good buildings well inhabited; it comes out of Peter-street, and falls into the road which leads to the Horse-ferry.”

EARL-STREET—is a continuation of Marsham-street from the opposite side of Horseferry-road, across Page-street to Vincent-street. The whole of the east side of it from Horseferry-road to Page street is occupied by the Westminster Brewery (New Westminster Brewery Co., Ltd.). On the other side were Messrs. Hadfield's marble works and gallery of sculpture, established here in 1804, now the waste department of the Government Stationery depot.

Until 1869, Romney-street only extended from Marsham-street to Tufton-street, when Vine-street (between Tufton-street and Millbank) was re-named and made part of it. Romney-street proper (as it may be termed for the moment) is mostly occupied on the north side by the Baptist Chapel,

and on the opposite side by the Horseferry-road Board School. Tripp's-buildings are also in Romney-street, on the north.

VINE-STREET—undoubtedly denoted the site of the vine-yard which formerly existed here, belonging to the Abbey.

"There was a garden," says Stow, "they called the Vine Garden, because perhaps vines anciently were there nourished, and wine made." It was in King Edward VI.'s time enclosed with houses and buildings. With a parcel of ground called the Mill-bank, valued at 58s., it was 'given by that King, in the third year of his reign, to Joanna Smith in consideration of service."

"In the overseer's book, 1565, is rated "the vyne-garden" and "myll" next to Bowling-alley. According to Cunningham, a house called Vineyard House, Westminster, was taken by Percy, and tenanted by Guy Fawkes, under the name of John Johnson. Here they commenced the mine which connected their house with the cellars of the Houses of Parliament. In the first year of Edward VI., payment was made to "Rich. Wolward, Keeper of the King's House at Westminster, j mark to repair the King's Vineyard there."

Seymour describes it as "a pretty handsome open place, which also falls into the Millbank. On the south-side is Campaine-alley which goes into Market-street." The Vestry minutes speak of "several new houses" in this street in 1795.

But the fact which gives Vine-street 'a local habitation and a name' more than any other, is that Charles Churchill was born here in 1731. He lived for a year too, in his father's house after his precipitate and improvident marriage with Miss Scott, when a mere lad of eighteen, without any means or plan of substance.

"Famed Vine-street,
Where Heaven, the kindest wish of man to grant,
Gave me an old house and an older aunt."

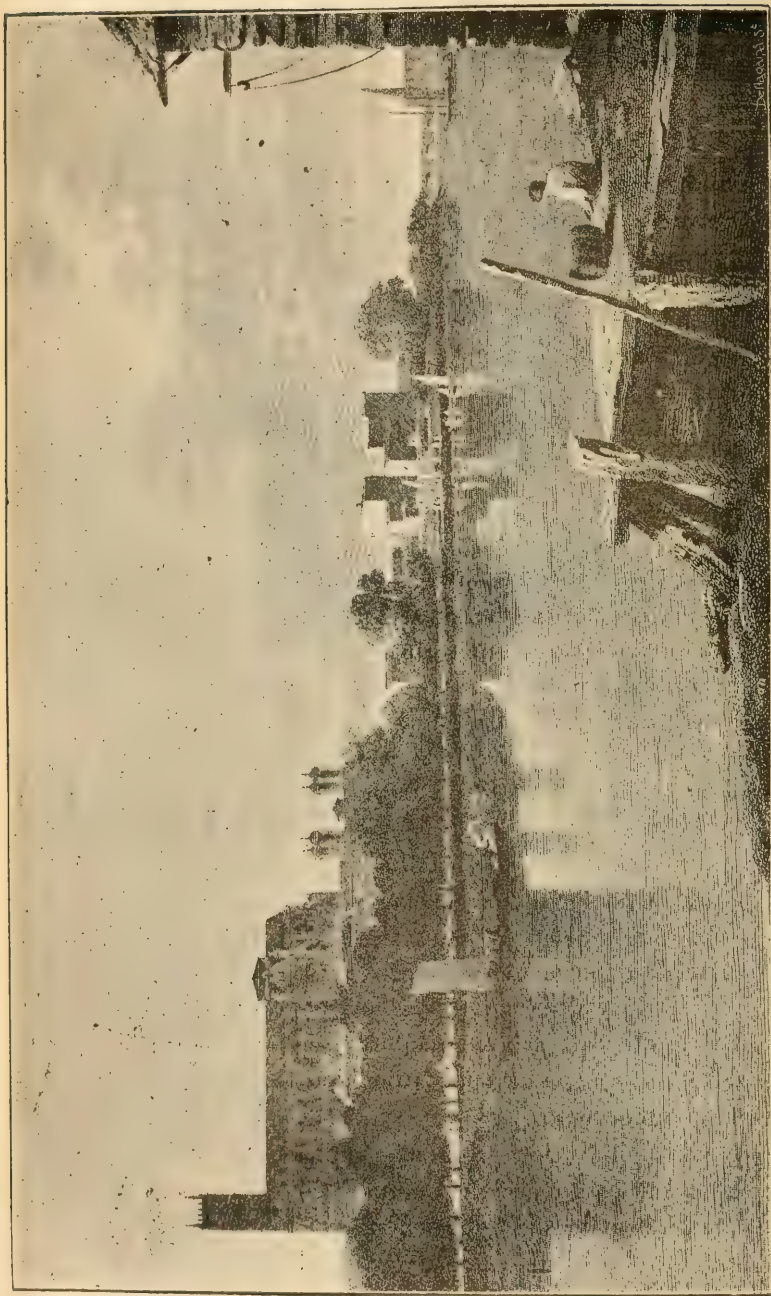
The satirical allusion cost the poet a legacy.

It is regrettable that so ancient a name should have been obliterated, as it was in 1869, by the Metropolitan Board of Works. From that time the name of "Romney-street" has been assigned to the entire length of the thoroughfare, which runs parallel, for a considerable distance, with the

portion of the Horseferry-road which was formerly designated "Market-street." Both these thoroughfares join Millbank-street near Lambeth-bridge. A view of this part of the parish, as it was seen from the Surrey side of the river at the opening of the present century, is given on the next page.

MONCK-STREET—was so named at the request of the Vestry, in 1889, after Mr. Henry Monck, who presented in 1713 to the Past Overseer's Society the original oval-shaped Tobacco-box, made of common horn, of about three-ounce capacity, and of a portable pocket size, which he had purchased at "Horn Fair," in the village of Charlton, near Woolwich, for the trifling sum of 4d. (*See page 188.*)

The Order of the Metropolitan Board of Works, dated 16th April, 1889, incorporated under this name the places called WHISTER'S or WHISTLER'S ground and Holland-street. Whister's-ground, or as it appears in the old rate-books, Whitster's-ground, was the narrowest portion of the street next Great Peter-street; Holland-street extended from Romney-place (a *cul-de-sac* on the west side) to Horseferry-road; it was named after Canon Holland Edwards, rector of 'our parish' 1806-32. Concerning the origin of Whitster's-ground nothing is definitely known: it was probably so called after the owner who first built houses there, or in allusion to a business carried on there. Cooke's *Westminster Local Directory* (1847) mentions "Marlboro'-court, 64, Great Peter-street" and "Marlboro'-place, Whister's ground." They were named after an old mansion called "Marlborough House," which was cleared away by the Chartered Company's Gasworks, opened in 1816. An anonymous writer in the *Westminster and Pimlico News* of June 29, 1889, says that "the mansion thus finally annihilated, appeared to have sunk into disuetude in 1813, when I lived in the lonely house mentioned, and was about completing my fourth year. The first gas-lamp lighted by way of test, to let the Westministerians see what was about to come into



St. John's, Westminster, in 1805.

As seen from the Surrey side of the Thames.

From a print in the Supplement to J. T. Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*.

vogue, was exhibited in the Laundry-yard, which is nearly opposite St. Ann's-street; but it had been prudently ruled that I should not quit my quiet abode for the purpose of witnessing it, for fear of being knocked down by the surging multitude."

The name of NEW-STREET (Vincent-square) may have been appropriate enough when it was first built, but it is certainly out of all keeping in the year 1892. Its builder sadly lacked invention. But, as Tennyson says, "common is the common-place."

NORTH-STREET—extends from the north end of St. John's Church to Wood-street, opposite the entrance to Cowley-street. A stone tablet at the north-east corner with Wood-street bears the date 1725. This street, and, in fact, all those in the vicinity, were at one time inhabited by well-born and distinguished people. At No. 13 lived Robert William Elliston, the great actor (though he was but a little man), who so took "Elia's" fancy. Born 7th April, 1774, he first appeared at Bath in 1791. Coming to London in 1796, he became in a few years the lessee and manager of Drury-lane and the Olympic theatres. Elliston was alike clever in comedy and tragedy, although perhaps he excelled in the former. But the chief charm of the actor to Charles Lamb was his completely histrionic character. Although "Elia" says that his "acquaintance with the pleasant creature" was but slight, his *Ellistoniana* is full of anecdote upon the actor's egotistical idiosyncrasy. "To descant upon his merits as a comedian would be superfluous," writes Lamb. "With his blended private and professional habits alone I have to do; that harmonious fusion of the manners of the player into those of every-day life, which brought the stage-boards into streets and dining-parlours, and kept up the play when the play was ended. . . . And in truth, this was the charm of Elliston's private deportment. You had spirited performances always going on before your eyes, with nothing

to pay. As where a monarch takes up his casual abode for a night, the poorest hovel which he honours by his sleeping in it, becomes *ipso facto* for that time, a palace; so whenever Elliston walked, sat, or stood still there was the theatre. He carried about with him his pit, boxes and galleries, and set up his portable playhouse at corners of streets, and in the market-places. Upon flintiest pavements he trod the boards still; and if his theme chanced to be passionate, the green baize carpet of tragedy spontaneously rose beneath his feet. Now this was hearty, and showed a love for his art. . . . 'But there is something not natural in this everlasting *acting*; we want the real man.' Are you sure that it is not the man himself? What if it is the nature of some men to be highly artificial? The fault is least reprehensible in *players*. Cibber was his own Toppington, with as much wit as Vanbrugh could add to it." This consummate actor and delightful 'character' died 7th July, 1831.

At the last house in this street, on the east side, lodged Dr. Coleridge in 1824, before he proceeded to the Barbadoes as Bishop. In this street also lived the mother of Dr. Chelsom (born 1740), a scholar, and afterwards usher in Westminster school for several years. His chief preferment was the rectory of Droxford, in Hants.

Here also died, on May 20, 1802, Col. William Robertson, of the "Royal Independent Invalids." William Capon, the antiquarian draughtsman, died here in 1827. Many of his pencil sketches of Westminster are in the Crace Collection.

ORCHARD-STREET—was so called from having been erected on the old orchard-garden of the monastery. The Orchard-street of the present day—granite-paved, with Peabody-buildings on one hand and the backs of Victoria-mansions on the other—has not the remotest resemblance to the Orchard-street prior to the commencement of the Westminster Improvements in 1848. Only the name has survived. The street formerly extended from Dean-street (now Great Smith-street) in an unbroken line across

Victoria-street into Great Chapel-street (St. Margaret's-parish), falling into that street a little to the north of Christ Church. Seymour describes it in 1735 as—

"Very long, with good Buildings, which are well inhabited : on the North side is a Place called the *New Way*, which has houses on the West side, the east being Sir Robert Pye's garden wall."

Here lived the humourist Thomas Amory, author of the *Life of John Buncl*e, published 1756-66, and other singular works. He was born about 1691, the son of Counsellor Amory, who was appointed secretary for the forfeited estates in Ireland by William III. Thomas, who was of an eccentric character, lived here the life of a recluse, only venturing out occasionally in the evening. He died 25th November, 1788, at the ripe age of 97. We read in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of another instance of longevity in this street. On the 15th October, 1793, a Mrs. Parker, widow, died here, who had just entered the 100th year of her age, having been born October 1st, 1694.

Cottage-court, New-square, and Union-place are mentioned in Cooke's *Local Directory* (1847) as being in this street.

The Crace Collection of Prints in the British Museum contains an amusing lithograph reproduction of a picture at one time in the possession of Mr. William Collins, of Tothill-fields, entitled "The Sugar Hogshead." It shows an old-fashioned grocer's shop situated at a street-corner in Orchard-street, Westminster. Outside the bay-windowed shop front is a hogshead (it is much too wide for removal into the shop) which has evidently only recently been emptied of its saccharine contents, for a number of juvenile residents are disporting themselves inside, outside, and round about the relic of not yet departed sweetness, all oblivious to coming dangers. The irate proprietor has just sallied forth and is in the act of administering 'the cut direct' to one urchin whose anatomy is invitingly poised for the purpose. The sign of the 'Sugar Loaves' hangs at

the corner of the house, where a lamp-lighter, furnished with his can of oil, is busily occupied in replenishing the supply at the miserable lamp for the night,—an operation which does not interfere, however, with his evident enjoyment of the moving drama that is being enacted immediately beneath him.

The same superb collection has also a wood-cut of "John Wesley's House in Orchard-street, pulled down in 1851." The house was in the occupation of a sweep at the time the sketch was taken.

Walcott tells us that in Orchard-street was held the first school established by the "National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church." until, with the first grant (£500) that was voted for the institution, the new building was commenced in the Broad Sanctuary, upon a valuable site given by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests. Although H.R.H. the Duke of York laid the foundation stone on 21st July, 1814, yet within four months (on 23rd November following) the children were removed to their new schools, which cost £5,000. The educational movement is further noticed in chapter XV.

The "New Way" ran due north from Orchard-street into the Almonry (which lay behind the houses on the south side of Tothill-street) nearly opposite the entrance to Peabody-buildings.

Hereabouts the old Westminster streets were so narrow, says John Timbs, that opposite neighbours might shake hands out of the windows. The knot of wretched lanes and alleys in the Almonry, Orchard-street, Duck-lane, &c., happily cleared away for the formation of Victoria-street, and the erection of lofty blocks of mansions and Peabody-buildings, was known as "the Desert of Westminster," where all sorts of criminals and ruffians easily evaded the Bow-street runners.

George Peabody was a descendant of the Pilgrim Fathers,

of a family formerly settled in Leicestershire, and was born at Danvers, Massachusetts, U.S., Feb. 18, 1795, where he was afterwards apprenticed to a grocer. He came to England in 1837, and established himself in London as a merchant and money-broker in 1843. He undertook at his own cost the arrangement of the United States department at the great exhibition of 1851; and he contributed to Dr. Kane's expedition in search of Sir John Franklin in 1852. He founded the Danvers Institute, and gave upwards of £100,000 for a similar purpose in Maryland. On retiring from business with a large fortune in 1862, he presented the city of London, in a letter dated March 12, with his first munificent sum of £150,000, to be applied to the purpose of assisting the working-classes by the erection of comfortable and convenient lodging-houses. In 1866 he gave £100,000; in 1868, £100,000; and in 1873, £150,000; making a total of £500,000; to which has been added money received for rent and interest, £553,105 6s. 6d., bringing up the total of the Peabody Fund on the 31st December last (1891) to £1,053,105 6s. 6d. The present trustees are the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, K.G. (chairman); His Excellency the United States Minister; Sir George Lampson, Bart.; the Right Hon. George Cubitt, M.P. (recently raised to the Peerage as Lord Ashcombe); E. A. Hambro, Esq.; W. H. Burns, Esq.

From the twenty-seventh annual report (1891) of the Trustees of the Peabody Donation Fund, we further learn that the capital expenditure on lands and buildings to the end of the year 1891 was £1,233,904 13s. 9d., that 11,273 rooms, besides laundries, bath-rooms, &c., have been provided for artizans and the labouring poor of London, and that the net gain of the year, from rents and interest was £29,659 4s. 7d. The first block of buildings was opened in Spitalfields in 1864. The substantially constructed buildings in Orchard-street were opened in 1882, Rochester-buildings in Old Pye-street had

been previously taken over from the Westminster Men's Club and Lodging-house, of which an account is given in *Old and New London*, Vol. IV., p. 39.

The great philanthropist died November 4th, 1869, in Eaton-square, in the house of Sir Curtis Lampson, Bart., whose son is a present Trustee.

PEAR-STREET—the narrow passage leading from Old Pye-street into Strutton-ground is another memorial of the orchard belonging to the old monastery. Tradition has it that a fine pear-tree once stood here. The street existed in Strype's time, for he describes it as "narrow and short, which comes out of Stretton-grounds, and falls into Duck-lane."

PAGE-STREET—was named after Dr. William Page, headmaster of Westminster School, who succeeded Dr. Carey in 1814. He was educated at Westminster School and was appointed undermaster in 1802. To his classical pen the school was indebted for most of the prologues, &c., written between the years 1802 and 1819, in which year he died. He must have done good service in the school, says Mr. F. H. Forshall * of him, for upon his death more than ten thousand pounds were raised by old Westminsters for the assistance of his family, who were left in straitened circumstances.

Until 1864 Page-street only extended from Regency-street to Kensington-place. Then, by an order of the Metropolitan Board of Works, dated 22nd January, Holywell-street (from Kensington-place to Millbank) was incorporated and made part of Page-street, which now therefore reaches from Regency-street to the Grosvenor-road. Here again as with Vine-street, and Bowling-street (which preserved the memory of the old places upon the sites of which they had been built), we have to deplore the extinction of the more ancient name, for 'Holywell' would seem to point to the existence within the Abbey precincts of some

* *Westminster School, Past and Present*, p. 316.

bubbling spring, with reputed virtues for the cure of those who in simple faith would litter with their poor offerings—

“ The slabbed margin of a well
Whose patient level peeped its crystal eye
Right upward, through the bushes, to the sky.”

Fitzstephen (died about 1190), Thomas à Becket's trusted clerk, tells us that there were about London, on the north side, excellent suburban springs, with sweet, wholesome and clear water. There were several “ Holy wells ” about London ; but all trace of this particular one must have early disappeared, for no allusion to it can anywhere be met with.

Thoms, the antiquarian, was living at No. 25, Holywell-street in 1857. *See page 413.*

In Page-street are the extensive premises of Messrs. Broadwood & Son, the world-famed pianoforte manufacturers—a celebrated Westminster firm which dates its foundation from 1732.

PETER-STREETS (Great and Little).—Peter-street, St. Peter-street, Great St. Peter-street, or as its name now rests, Great Peter-street, bear the name of the Patron Saint of the Abbey. In the troublous times of the Civil War it was plain “ Peter ” for the Roundheads, and “ Saint Peter ” for the Cavalier. This thoroughfare is an ancient one. Walcott mentions that upon the front of a house in it, facing Leg-court, is the following inscription, rudely cut:—“ This is Sant Peter Street, 1624, R. [a heart] W.” The house and stone are still existing—No. 51 on the south side ; but Leg-court opposite has disappeared to make room for Peabody-buildings. Strype and Seymour thus describe it a hundred years later :—

“ *Peter-street*, very long and indifferent broad, especially that part next to *Tothill-fields*, from which it passes by *Duck-lane* and falls into *Wood-street*, and thence to the *Mill-bank* ; and on the south side it receives these Places, viz., *Horn-court*, *Tompkins'-yard*, *Moors'-yard*, and *Laundrey's-alley* ; all of ordinary Account.”

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* of July, 1801, we read of the death of a Mrs. Payne, baker, of Peter-street, Westminster :—

She was a very singular character ; her cloathing was in general truly eccentric ; her outside habit chiefly consisted of a blanket made in the shape of a morning-gown. She was extremely saving in her diet, almost subsisting on the raspings of her customers' loaves ; yet, notwithstanding, she was very charitable to the poor. She persisted in sitting in her shop to the last moment of her existence, and expired under her counter, aged 88.

On the south side of Great Peter-street, from the western end, are " Bull's Head "-court, " Blue Anchor "-court, New Peter-street (now Chadwick-street), Elizabeth-place, Monck-street (formerly Whister's ground and Marlborough-house and square), and Laundry-yard ; and on the north side, St. Matthew-street (Duck-lane), St. Ann's-lane, Johnson's-court, and St. Ann's-street.

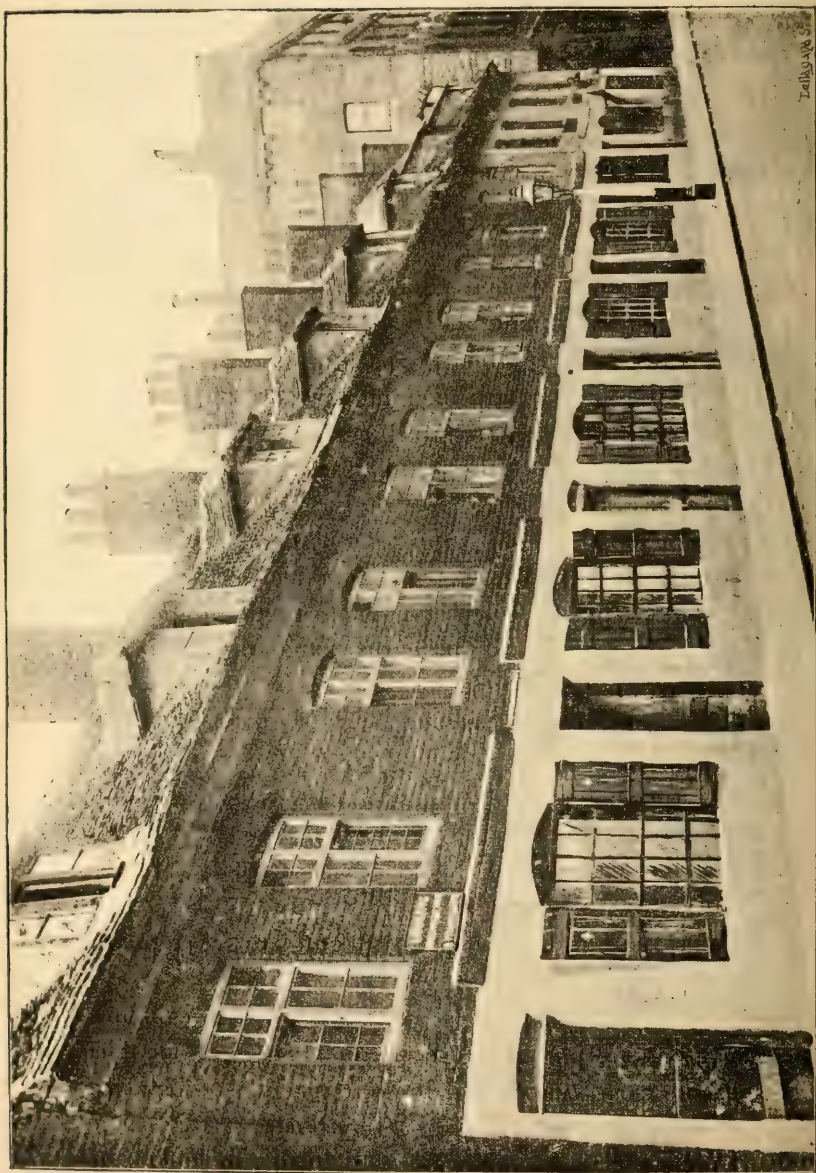
When gas was first generally introduced (about 1812-13), the most absurd fears of the new illuminant were held by the public. An eminent engineer gravely told the House of Commons that the gas pipes would spread conflagration from house to house and street to street. *The News*, of October 31, 1812, contained an account of a gas explosion at Great Peter-street, which, we may well suppose, did not tend to allay the apprehensions :—

Oct. 31. On Monday the neighbourhood of Great Peter street, Westminster, was thrown into much confusion and alarm by a *gas light explosion*, which shook the surrounding houses, broke many windows, and threatened to fire in every direction. From all we could learn it appeared, that a pipe unexpectedly burst in the premises of the Gas Light and Coke Company. By this means much gas oozed out and filled the apartment ; but not calculating on this, one of the men took a candle and proceeded to the spot to ascertain what was the matter. The moment the candle was introduced, the whole of the gas that had escaped from the pipe burst into a flame with a dreadful explosion, as if fire had been communicated to a heap of gunpowder. By it this man was much injured, as well as two or three more of the workmen ; indeed, it was said that two men were killed, but we do not learn that this was well founded. The speedy arrival of many engines, and the exertions within the manufactory soon got the fire under control, preventing it extending to the neighbouring premises.

Little Peter-street is spoken of in the Vestry minutes in the year 1800 as "a great thoroughfare obstructed by trees, posts, and rails, situate in the fronts of the houses."

Richard Cumberland *filis* (1732—1811) the dramatist and poet, tells us in his *Memoirs of Himself* that when at Westminster he boarded in "Peter Street, two doors from the turning out of College Street." Inasmuch as Peter-street and College-street both run east and west, it is hard to guess his meaning, except that by the "turning out of College-street" is meant Bowling-alley (*i.e.* Tufton-street), in which case the house he boarded at would have been in (Little) Peter-street, now Wood-street, "two doors from the turning." Richard Cumberland, the son of Richard Cumberland, Bishop of Peterborough, entered Westminster School when twelve years old, but at that early age was placed in "the Shell." He was of about the same standing in the school as William Burke, and Colman (the elder), Churchill, Warren Hastings, Harley, Robert Lloyd, Cowper, Dean Vincent, Lord Shelburne, the Earl of Bristol, and Cracherode were also schoolfellows of his—an unusually brilliant set. He was admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge, when only in his fourteenth year. In after life he became a voluminous writer—opera, comedy, tragedy, poetry (lyrical, sacred and occasional), novels, essays, pamphlets, and even divinity—all were apparently alike to his facile pen. The *Wheel of Fortune*, identified with John Kemble, the *West Indian*, with Moody the comedian, and *The Jew*, an honourable attempt to combat popular prejudice against the Jewish nation, were his most effective dramatic pieces. His *Essays and Memoirs* are what he is principally known by to modern readers. He died 7th May, 1811.

PYE STREETS, Old and New.—Old and New Pye-streets, part of which disappeared between 1848 and 1850 in the formation of Victoria-street, were so named after Sir Robert Pye, of Farrington, in Berks. He married Anne (not Mary, as given in Walcott's *Memorials*) the second

*Ancient Houses in Old Pye-street, 1892.*

T. & A. G. N. S.

daughter of the great patriot John Hampden. In Purcell's time the neighbourhood was newly built on the edge of the fields, as it were, by Sir Robert, whose house stood in the "New Way," near the Almonry. Its site was afterwards occupied by the Workhouse of St. Margaret's parish, opposite the present Westminster Hospital. There is an excellent view of this workhouse in the Crace collection at the British Museum. Sir Robert Pye (who became, by his marriage, a cousin of Oliver Cromwell) was a great benefactor to the New Chapel in the Broadway. Besides giving £500 towards the furniture of the Chapel, he settled by deed, March 8, 1652, eight messuages in Petty France upon the Chapel to maintain a minister, reserving the right of nomination absolutely to himself and heirs. Sir Robert was an ancestor of Henry James Pye, the poet laureate, Southey's predecessor. The latter, who was born in 1745, published *Poems*, 1787, and a translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*, 1788. He was a magistrate of Westminster, and died 11th August, 1813. Sir Robert Pye represented Westminster in the time of Charles I.

De Groot, the great-nephew of the learned Dutch statesman and writer, Hugh Grotius, lived here for some time. By the friendly intercession of Dr. Johnson he afterwards became admitted as a "poor brother" of the Charterhouse.

Seymour writing in 1735 considered *Pye-street*, "between *Duck-lane* and great *St. Ann's-lane*," as "being better built than inhabited"; and he speaks of New Pye-street as "a passage from Old Pye-street into Orchard-street."

PERKIN'S-RENTS—were in existence in Seymour's time. He thus describes them—" *Perkin's-rents* comes out of *Pye-street* and falls into *Peter-street*, a place of no account."

In the Churchwardens' accounts for St. John's parish we find the following entries :—

6th March, 1802. To the Beadle for a Jury to sit on the bodies of Samuel Tagg, Harriet Ludgate and Eleanor Shaw, killed by the falling down of the houses in Perkin's Rents 5s.

11th March, 1802. Paid sundry persons for digging out the people buried in the ruins of the houses in Perkin's Rents, and for liquor for them £3 1 0

REGENCY STREET—extends from the Vauxhall-bridge-road to the Horseferry-road, running due north and south. Until 1877, it was called Regent-street, when by an Order of the Metropolitan Board it was renamed to distinguish it from *the* Regent-street. The Regency Bill was passed in 1708, and it was in loyal compliment to the Prince Regent (afterwards George IV.), who laid the first stone of Vauxhall-bridge on the Westminster side in 1811, that the street was named. The triangular space where this thoroughfare meets the Horseferry-road is still known as Regent-place, and there is a Regent-gardens. Just opposite Chapter-street a narrow passage with a board crossing it, bearing the grand style and title of "Regent-gardens," may be perceived, and if the curious explorer pass through, he will find a row of small unattractive cottages on either side of him, with morsels of gardens behind low dilapidated palings, where some few sickly geraniums, Michaelmas daisies, and other plants make a brave struggle for life under the portentous frown of a huge gasometer that overlooks the end of the court. Another court a few yards to the south bears the equally euphonious name of Brunswick-place, after the exalted personage who laid the second foundation stone of Vauxhall-bridge, on the Surrey side in 1813, which has been referred to at page 382. In the centre of Regent-place stood until its removal in 1868 the old fire-engine house.

RIDLEY-PLACE — in Frederick-street. Henry Stephen Ridley was a gentleman who took an active interest as a representative of St. John's on the Westminster District Board thirty years ago. He designed the Regent Music Hall, built by Mr. J. F. Shedlock, who also bore an active part in local affairs forty years ago.

ROCHESTER-ROW—All the world knows that this impor-

tant Westminster thoroughfare was so-called after the Bishops of Rochester who, by a combination which continued through nine successive incumbencies, united the See of Rochester with the Deanery of Westminster, and thus, to use Dean Stanley's words, "gave to that poor and neighbouring bishopric at once an income and a town residence." It is not known when the road was first formed—probably a cart-way giving access to Tothill-fields from the "road leading to the Horse Ferry" had existed here long before a single house made its appearance. The first Dean, who was also Bishop of Rochester, was John Dolben (1663-1683), who showed himself so valorous during the Civil Wars at Marston Moor and at York, quite in the spirit of the militant princes of the church during the middle ages. Widmore speaks of him as an "extraordinary lovely person, though grown too fat; of an open countenance, a lively, piercing eye, and a majestic presence." During the twenty years of his office he was held in great esteem by the old inhabitants of Westminster, and spoken of as "a very good Dean." This great prelate, of whom Evelyn and Pepys make frequent mention, became Archbishop of York in 1683. He died at York 1686. He was succeeded by Thomas Sprat (1684—1713), the most literary Dean since the time of Andrewes, a 'Vicar of Bray' in politics, who read James II.'s Declaration of Indulgence in the Abbey, almost the only church in London where it was read. The famous and learned Dean, Francis Atterbury, followed. Perhaps no Dean of Westminster was so essentially a Westminster Dean. A Westminster scholar, a Westminster student at Christ Church, he became deeply attached in later life to Westminster. In the *Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Atterbury, D.D.* (Vol. I., p. 11), we read that "whilst at school young Atterbury explored the neighbourhood till he had acquired a pretty accurate knowledge of

its attractions, familiarizing his mind with the rural beauties of Tothill-fields."

His sermons in Westminster were long remembered (*Tatler*, No. 66); and his antiquarian regard for the Abbey and its monuments, his repairs, and his researches are matters for which he will be ever held in grateful recollection by all who venerate Westminster Abbey. It is sad to read of his separation from his beloved haunts, but the Jacobite plots in the Deanery, his arrest, his defence and trial, his exile, and other details of his fall belong to the history of England, and cannot be related here. He died at Paris, Feb. 15, 1732.

Next came Samuel Bradford (1723-31), the first Dean of the Order of the Bath; Joseph Wilcocks (1731-56), during whose time Wren's towers were finished; Zachary Pearce (1756-68) the only Dean who ever resigned; the liberal minded John Thomas (1768-93), to whom the Handel Festival (1784) owes its origin, and the despotic Samuel Horsley (1793-1802); his successor was Dr. William Vincent, with whose appointment the See of Rochester was, after 140 years, parted from the Deanery, to the great regret of George III.

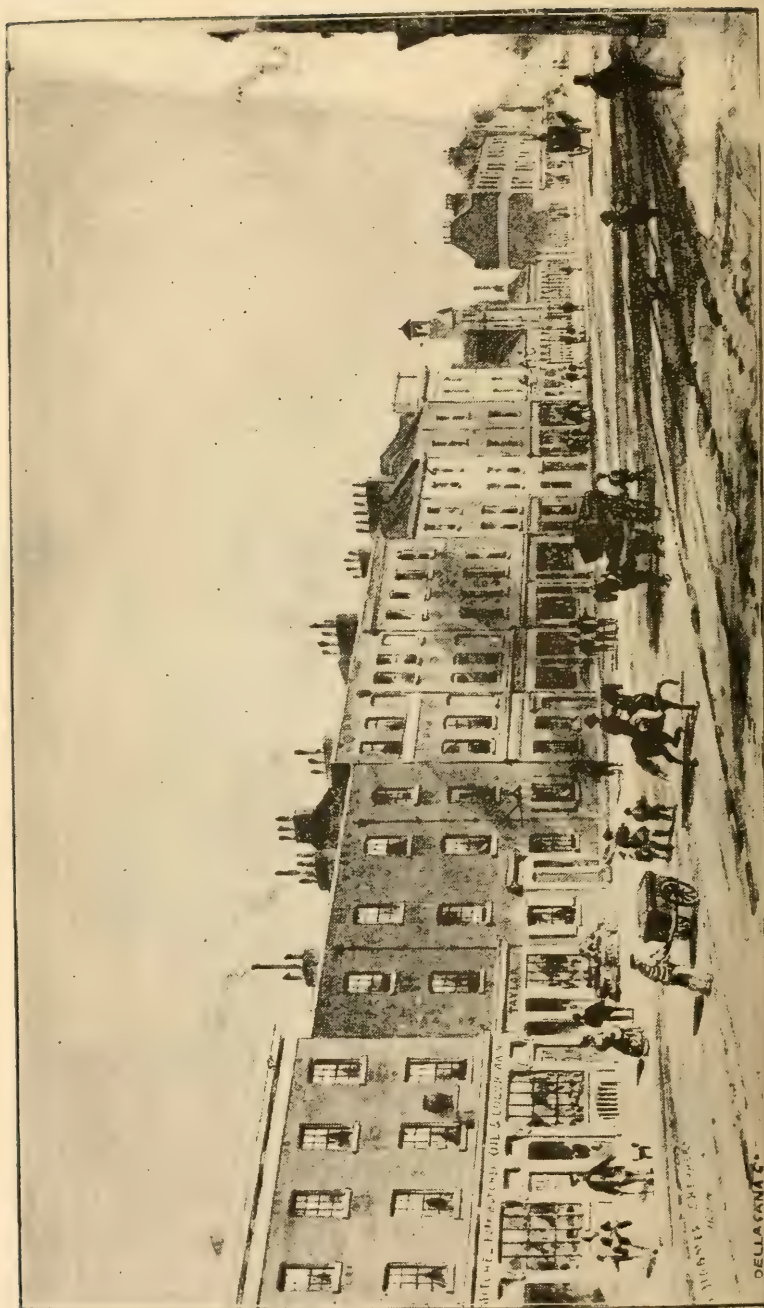
It will thus be seen that the Bishops of Rochester were all worthy of their double office; and it is a pity that the name of not a single one of them is connected with any street or institution in Westminster, whereas that of the Dean, with whom the separation of the two offices took place, is perpetuated in a 'square,' a 'street,' a 'place,' a 'court,' and a 'row'! But perhaps the omission should not be wondered at when it is borne in mind that the name of the one Bishop of Westminster has only recently been given to "Thirleby-gardens," in Ashley-place.

Rochester-row was the way by which the Pest-houses were reached. It may be considered as marking the western boundary of Tothill-fields, which extended thence eastward to the river at Millbank, and southward from the

Horseferry-road towards the low-lying neat-meadows of Pimlico. Down to the end of the 18th century and later it was only built upon on the west side, a 'row' of small houses extending from the Pound-house (which stood in the wide part of Grey Coat-place) to Emery Hill's Alms-houses, erected in 1708. Emery Hill was undoubtedly a stout believer in fresh air, for his almspeople had an uninterrupted view right across Tothill-fields to the river and over the Lambeth marshes to the heights of Sydenham.

A properly made-up roadway would appear to have been formed in 1782, for in July of that year the Paving Commissioners ordered "that Rochester Row, situate in Tothill-fields, be immediately improved by digging a ditch about three feet deep, and taking away the present posts and rails in order to make a road to accommodate the inhabitants with a convenient carriageway." In October of the same year a proposal was made at a meeting of the Commissioners, on complaint of improper uses, that the ditch should be filled up, and a paved channel substituted in front of the houses from the Pound House to Emery Hill's almshouses; but the Commissioners evidently not liking that their work should be so soon deemed a failure, negatived the suggestion. Nothing further was heard of the matter, for in 1794, the Paving Commissioners found this ditch "to be exceeding bad and filthy and quite filled owing to the gardeners' carts passing and re-passing over a bridge at the upper end of the row"; when orders were given to have the offending ditch cleansed and the "bridge" removed.

The question of the right of way in Rochester-row soon became a matter of some contention with the inhabitants, both the Paving Commissioners and the Dean and Chapter insisting that the road was private. In 1783 public notice was given that the Row was "no thoroughfare for horses and carriages"; and in 1802 an applicant for permission to "bring his horses and carriages either across the fields



Rochester Rows, showing Emory Hill's Almshouses, 1840.

or along Rochester-row" was informed by the Paving Commissioners that "Rochester Row is a private row for small carts and carriages to pass for the convenience of the inhabitants only, and not a public thoroughfare, and that the road outside the ditch in the fields belongs to the Dean and Chapter." Again, ten years later, in Dec. of 1812, a Committee reported that the posts and rails with the brick arches over the ditch had been taken up, and a temporary bridge made so as to form a public way for traffic, whereby danger had been occasioned. It would appear that the damage was done by the soldiers seeking to obtain by main force access to the military hospital at the south end, which was erected about 1805. The matter was referred to the Dean and Chapter, who replied (May, 1813) that the roadway was merely 'a permission way,' but they admitted that the opening of the way would be a great public convenience. In 1816, a memorial was received asking to have the ditch arched over owing to its filthy and dangerous state. In February, 1819, further complaints were received from the military authorities of difficulty in approaching the Guards' Hospital in consequence of the bad state of the road. An estimate of £2,100 for repairing the road was rejected, and the Dean and Chapter were asked to reinstate the bar taken down, so as to stop the traffic, "as it would be entailing an endless burden on the parishes to suffer the road to remain open as a public way." While, therefore, the Chapter authorities were willing to cede the user of the road, and the inhabitants desired it, the paving authorities were too alarmed at the expense of its maintenance to assume jurisdiction. The Dean and Chapter consented to reinstate the bar, and provided the lessees with a key each; but in 1822, three years later, we find them declining to prosecute parties for breaking the bar down. In 1819 the street was first lit with gas.

Some idea of the condition of the roadway and of the

evils arising from the multiplicity of authorities, may be gathered from the following circumstances :—

In 1824-5, the solicitor to the Guards served a notice upon the Paving Commissioners, requiring them to repair the Row sufficiently to enable a hackney coach conveying a sick soldier to approach the Military Hospital. He was referred to the Governors and Directors of the Poor as the proper authorities. The solicitor replied, declining to be a party to the disputes then at issue between the Commissioners and the Governors as to which body had jurisdiction, and subsequently summoned the former, when the magistrate decided against the Commissioners. Appeal was allowed, however, to be had, and recognisances were entered into, and counsel instructed. Independent surveyors were called in to advise, and upon their report the appeal was abandoned, the road repaired, and the lamps which had been removed two or three years previously were re-instated and put into lighting.

In the same year a Committee reported that “throughout the whole of Rochester-row there is a stagnant ditch, pregnant with danger, both to the inhabitants and passengers”; and in 1837 further complaints of its “shameful and dangerous state” were received. Nevertheless, so chaotic was the state of the law, and the disputed question of jurisdiction—the Tothill Fields Trustees became next involved—that it was not until 1858, after the passing of the Metropolis Local Management Act had made matters clearer, that the Rochester-row ditch, which had been complained of less than six months after its formation, was finally covered over and converted into a properly constructed sewer.

In 1865 the houses in Rochester-row were re-numbered, and the subsidiary name of Rochester-terrace (Nos. 78 to 102) abolished.

The drinking fountain in front of St. Stephen's schools

was erected and given to the public by the Baroness Burdett-Coutts in 1882.

In Rochester-street, which runs in an easterly direction out of Rochester-row to the north of St. Stephen's schools, are the Townshend schools.

At the north end of Rochester-row is Old Rochester-row, between Artillery-place and Grey-coat-place.

ST. ANN'S-LANE AND STREET—The unsavoury and disreputable quarter in which we now find ourselves, with its old and ruinous tenements, occupied principally by the costermonger class, is a last relic of that dreadful locality lying under the very shadow of the Abbey and the Parliament towers, which Dickens so pungently described in *Household Words* as "The Devil's Acre." That congeries of seething courts and alleys, the despair of the clergy and the police, has disappeared to make way for Victoria-street and Peabody-buildings. Nevertheless there remains in St. Ann's-lane one of the most interesting memorials of the past, that is not to be found elsewhere in all Westminster. Its name originates from a chapel or chantry which at one time existed close by in connection with the Almonry or Ambrey. There were two chapels, one dedicated to St. Dunstan, and one to St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin Mary. It belonged probably to the fraternity of St. Anne. In 1576 it was taken on lease by the parish, and used as a storehouse for wood to be given to the poor.

Seymour's account of the locality in his time (1735) is curious—

"*Great St. Anne's-lane*, a pretty, handsome, well-built, and inhabited Place.

Little St. Anne's-lane lies between *Peter-street* and *Old Pye-street*; but ordinarily built and inhabited. Out of this Lane is a narrow and long Passage into *Great St. Anne's-lane*, called *Alding's-alley*.

From the Vestry minutes we learn that some of the houses were built in 1792. "Great St. Anne's-lane" is most probably "St. Anne's-street," and "Little St. Anne's-lane," what is now known as "St. Ann's-lane," between

Great Peter-street and Old Pye-street. The sweet singer, Robert Herrick (1591—1674), the boon companion of Ben Jonson in his revels, lodged in old St. Ann's-lane. Very little is known of the author of the *Hesperides*, except that he was for twenty years the vicar of a parish called Dean Prior, in Devonshire, was ejected by Cromwell, and reinstated by Charles II. at the Restoration. Much of his poetry, truth to say, is very little in accordance with the clerical character, which indeed he seems always to have worn very lightly. His life in London, when deprived of his living, was a joyous one; and, in the lines quoted at the head of Chapter XI., he speaks of his "belovéd Westminster," where he lived until the Restoration. As one of the 'poetical sonnes' of convivial-loving Ben, he must have often met Shakespeare and the other great wits of that glowing age at the renowned 'Mermaid':—

"Souls of Poets dead and gone,
What Elysium have ye known,
Happy field or mossy tavern,
Choicer than the Mermaid Tavern?"

KEATS.

Herrick, one of the sweetest of British lyrical poets, died at Dean Prior, October 15, 1674. As the poet wrote *To Daffodils*:—

We have short time to stay as you
We have as short a spring,
As quick a breath to meet decay
As you, or anything.
We die
As your hours do, and dry
Away,
Like to the summer's rain,
Or as the pearls of morning dew,
Ne'er to be found again.

St. Ann's-lane will always be remembered through Sir Roger de Coverley's youthful adventure there, which Addison has so humorously told in No. 125 of *The Spectator*, when dilating upon "Party Spirit":—

My worthy friend Sir Roger, when we are talking of the malice of parties, very frequently tells us an accident that happened to him when

he was a school-boy, which was a time when the feuds ran high between the Roundheads and Cavaliers. This worthy knight being then but a stripling, had occasion to inquire which was the way to St. Anne's Lane, upon which the person whom he spoke to, instead of answering his question, called him a young Popish cur, and asked him who had made Anne a saint. The boy being in some confusion inquired of the next he met which was the way to Anne's Lane; but was called a prick-eared cur for his pains, and, instead of being shown the way, was told that she had been a saint before he was born, and would be one after he was hanged. "Upon this," says Sir Roger, "I did not think fit to repeat the former question, but, going into every lane of the neighbourhood, asked what they called the name of that lane." By which ingenious artifice he found out the place he inquired after without giving offence to any party. Sir Roger generally closes this narrative with reflections on the mischief that parties do in the country; how they spoil good neighbourhood,—make honest men hate one another; besides that they manifestly tend to the prejudice of the Land tax and the destruction of the Game.

Dr. Henry Purcell, the pride and boast of the English school of music, who was born in Westminster in the year 1658 (where, is not known), resided in St. Ann's-lane.* Mr. W. H. Robinson writing in *Notes and Queries* of March 10, 1877, attempts with good authority to locate the exact house—

There is one interesting circumstance in relation to St. Ann's Lane, but I can only give it upon *tradition*, not having met with it in any publication, viz., that the small house No. 11 was formerly the habitation of Purcell, the composer, who was organist of the Abbey. I give this for what it is worth, having received it from my late father, who was agent for several successive freeholders of the property some thirty-five to forty years ago. I am, however, inclined to attach some credit to the statement from the circumstance that my father was hardly likely to have heard Purcell's name in any other connection than that of a former occupant of the house. . . . The house which I attribute to Purcell forms the 'return' end of a block, principally in Old Pye Street, now used as tramps' lodging-houses, and which are almost the solitary remains in London of the old style of buildings with overhanging roofs and eaves dripping into the street.

St. John's parish has every reason to be proud of being associated with such a name. We therefore venture to offer a brief review of the musician's life. Both Purcell's father, Henry, and uncle, Thomas, were appointed gentle-

* See Vincent Novello's *Life of Purcell*, 1826-36.

men of the Chapel Royal at the Restoration. His father died when he was but six years of age; and the future musician appears to have entered shortly afterwards as one of the 'children of the chapel' under a Captain Cook, then master, to whom the credit must be given for the early cultivation of Purcell's inborn genius. Purcell was remarkable for precocity of talent. While yet a boy chorister he commenced more than one anthem; and in 1676, though but 18 years of age, he was chosen to succeed Dr. Christopher Gibbons, as organist of the Abbey, an appointment of high professional rank. Dr. Blow, a master in high repute at the time, under whom he had studied, succeeded him, and his monumental tablet in the Abbey proudly records "that he was master to the famous Mr. Henry Purcell." Had Purcell confined himself to church music only, he would have stood on lofty ground, but the greatness of his genius is most conspicuous in his compositions for the chamber and the stage, where the fertility of his invention, and the vividness of his imagination, appear in all their affluence, because unrestrained by the poetry to which he gave musical expression. His settings to Shakspeare and Dryden are inimitable. His odes, glees, catches, and rounds are familiar to every admirer of vocal harmony. His "To Arms" (duet and chorus), and the air "Britons, strike for home!" became national war songs, always received with acclamation. The Vestry of St. Margaret's, whose loyalty and patriotism are everywhere shown in their minutes, ordered the chimes in 1740 to be set to the latter tune.* Purcell died on November 21, 1695, aged 37, of consumption, Hawkins surmises, and was laid in the Abbey. Says Dean Stanley of him—"The first musician who was buried within the church—the Chaucer, as it were, of the Musicians' Corner—was Henry Purcell, organist of the Abbey, who died nearly at the same age which was fatal to Mozart, Schubert, and Mendelssohn, and was buried in the

* See *Local Government in Westminster*, p. 70.

north aisle of the choir, close to the organ which he had been the first to raise to celebrity, and with the Anthem which he had but a few months before composed for the funeral of Queen Mary." Charles Knight emphatically writes of him : " Purcell, take him for all in all, is the greatest musical genius this country ever produced ; and our deliberate opinion is, that, from the earliest period in the history of the art, down to the time of his death, Europe would in vain be searched to find his equal as a composer of secular music . . . so rich in melody, so expressive of the depth and energy of true passion, that all who understand the English tongue, who have acquired some knowledge of the language of music, and have no governing predilection for any particular school, confess his power, and admit the originality and vigour of his genius." His tablet was placed in the Abbey by Lady Elizabeth Howard, the wife of Dryden, to whom the inscription is attributed—" Here lies Henry Purcell, Esq., who left this life, and is gone to that blessed place where only his harmony can be excelled."—

" That undisturbed song of pure consent,
Aye sung before the sapphire-colour'd throne
To Him that sits thereon,
With saintly shout, and solemn jubilee,
Where the bright seraphim in burning row,
- Their loud uplifted angel-trumpets blow,
And the cherubic host, in thousand choirs,
Touch their immortal harps of golden wires,
With those just spirits that wear victorious palms,
Hymns devout and holy psalms,
Singing everlastingly !"

MILTON.

Another musician, William Heather, "doctor in musick," lived in a house near St. Ann's-lane (Walcott). He is principally to be remembered, at any rate in Westminster, for having left a benefaction to King Charles's Hospital in Tothill-fields (the Green Coat School). By his will he gave £100 "unto and for the Benefitt and good of the sayd Poore Children of the sayd New Hospitall in Westm^r to be

Imploy'd as the Vestry men of St. Marg:^{ts} in Westm : for the time being shall thinke fitt ; Item I give more unto the sayd Children of the sayd Hospitall xL."

King Charles I. did not grant his Letters Patent to St. Margaret's Hospital (as it was also called) till 1633, so that Dr. Heather—Hatton spells the name as "Heath" in his *New View of London*—was, by his will and perhaps during his lifetime, one of the earliest supporters of a charity which ultimately formed the nucleus of the United Westminster Schools. He died July 2, 1627—

"Pure in deeds
At last he beat his music out."

TENNISON.

Under the heading of "St. Anne's-lane," Walcott says that John Rushworth, M.A., the historical writer, "lived for some time in great obscurity in Westminster." It would be most interesting to learn if there were any truth in the implication that that unfortunate scholar lived in St. Ann's-lane in his latter days of royal neglect and disgrace. As one of the clerks to the House of Commons, he was present when King Charles attempted to seize the five members. It appears to have been Rushworth's practice to take down in a species of shorthand what he thought worth preserving, and the king, having observed him taking his speech in characters, required a copy of it. Rushworth tried to excuse himself, pleading how Mr. Neville had been sent to the Tower for telling his majesty what was spoken in the House. Charles smartly replied, "I ask you not to tell me what was said by any member, but what I said myself." Rushworth's *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State, Weighty matters in Law, and Remarkable proceedings in Parliament* (1618 to 1648) have been of immense value to historians of that period. The first volume was unfortunately ushered in by a high-flown dedication to the new Protector Richard. The author thereby lost all hope of royal favour, and after living in great obscurity and poverty,

he was arrested for debt and sent to the King's Bench prison in 1684, where he died in 1690. The poor author latterly took to drink to 'drown care,' and his mind and memory were nearly gone for some time before his death.

As a fair sample of the mob violence prevalent in the latter part of the last century, we read in the *Old British Spy*, January 4, 1783, that three men were committed to Newgate by William Addington, Esq., a magistrate, "on a charge against them on oath, for riotously and tumultuously assembling together to the disturbance of the public peace, and for demolishing and pulling down four dwelling houses situate in St. Anne's-lane, Westminster, belonging to the Governors of the Grey Coat Hospital." Evidently the enormities of the mob which followed Lord George Gordon had not been forgotten.

Coming down now to the early part of the present century we find that the inhabitants of St. Ann's-lane become more on a par with the *genius loci* as we know it. In Mr. J. T. Smith's *Vagabondiana*, we are told that about the year 1816 there lived here—

A notable beggar, John McNally, of Tyrone, who had lost the use of his legs by a log that had crushed both his thighs. His head, shoulders and chest were exactly those of a Hercules. This extraordinary torso was drawn on a truck by two dogs, Boxer and Rover whom he had trained, by which contrivance he increased his income beyond belief. Though this man's dogs, when coupled, have occasional snarlings, particularly when one scratches himself with an overstrained exertion, the other feeling at the same time an inclination to dose; yet when the master has been dead drunk, and become literally a log on his truck, they have very cordially united their efforts to convey him to his lodgings in St. Ann's-lane, Westminster, and perhaps with more safety than if he had governed them, frequently taking a circuitous route during street repairs, in order to obtain the clearest paths.

"Beggar?—the only freeman of your Commonwealth;
Free above Scot-free, that observe no laws,
Obey no governor, use no religion
But what they draw from their own ancient custom
Or constitute themselves."

BROME.

Says the entertaining author of *Old and New London* :

"There is an old saying among Londoners, quoted in Moryson's *Itinerarie*, to the effect that 'woe be to him who buys a horse in Smithfield, or who takes a servant from St. Paul's, or a wife out of Westminster.' Judging from the appearance of the female part of the community inhabiting many of the narrow courts and alleys abounding in this neighbourhood, one would be almost inclined to feel that the latter part of the saying above quoted holds good even in the present day."

Such is the class of inhabitants that is usually associated with this quarter of Westminster, so long notorious as the haunt of thieves and ruffianism, the home of professional poverty and extreme misery, and the hiding place of vice's sad victims, and of human wreckage from every shoal and rock in life's dangerous ocean. Now, however, a change for the better is gradually spreading over the place. Recent sanitary legislation is bringing about a marked improvement in such of the old property as is allowed to run its full lease of life, and the prodigious enhancement of land value in Westminster is causing stately mansions to rise on the site of wretched courts and alleys, to the regret of the antiquarian, perhaps, but to the great content of all whose regard for the public morals and the public health is paramount.

Thus the whirligig of Time brings in his revenges.

Twelfth Night.

In St. Ann's-street, nearly opposite Old Pye-street, is the second-class entrance to the Public Baths and Wash-houses (*see Chapter XV.*) which are at the time of writing in course of being rebuilt.

St. Ann's-court is a narrow and disreputable place on the east side of St. Ann's-street. It is about to be absorbed in the new factory of Messrs. Burroughes and Watts, the billiard-table manufacturers.

ST. JOHN-STREET—leads from the north-west corner of Smith-square into Wood-street. This mediocre street of ordinary two-storey brick-houses was, in the beginning of

the present century, occupied by 'carriage folk;' but they have long since forsaken it. From the Vestry minutes of 1807 we read of complaint made of the condition of St. John-street—"so dangerous that we cannot get coaches or any other carriages up to our doors for fear of being overturned, and are therefore obliged to cause such coaches and carriages to stop at the north-end of the street in Wood-street." Complaint was at the same time made that the street was not lighted at night.

A plan preserved in the British Museum shows that in 1739 St. John-street had not been formed, although the surrounding streets had been built.

ST. MATTHEW-STREET (formerly Duck-lane)—The name of Duck-lane, Mr. Walcott surmises, "was probably derived from the number of those birds which frequented the straight canals and runnels by which early maps represent the immediate vicinity to have been divided." Seymour, in 1735, thought it "a Place of no great Account." Dr. Christopher Gibbons, known by his beautiful "Cathedral Services" and chants, lived in this lane. Dean Swift's lines on the death of himself contain a reference to Duck-lane as being a place in London where old books were sold—

"Some country squire to Lintot goes,
Inquires for 'Swift in Verse and Prose.'
Says Lintot, 'I have heard the name;
He died a year ago.'—'The same.'
He searches all the shops in vain.
'Sir, you may find them in Duck lane;
I sent them with a load of books
Last Monday to the pasty-cook's—
To fancy they could live a year!—
I find you're but a stranger here.'!"

Duck-lane was, before the Westminster Improvements, a somewhat notorious neighbourhood. Walcott, speaking with the fulness of personal knowledge, says: "Its site has but recently been demolished of all its labyrinthine courts and stifling passages, in order to be prepared for the forma-

tion of that great boon to lower Westminster, the new Victoria-street."

The Blue Coat School was first founded in this lane in or about the year 1688, by Dr. Thomas Jekyll. A brief notice of the school is given in chapter XV.

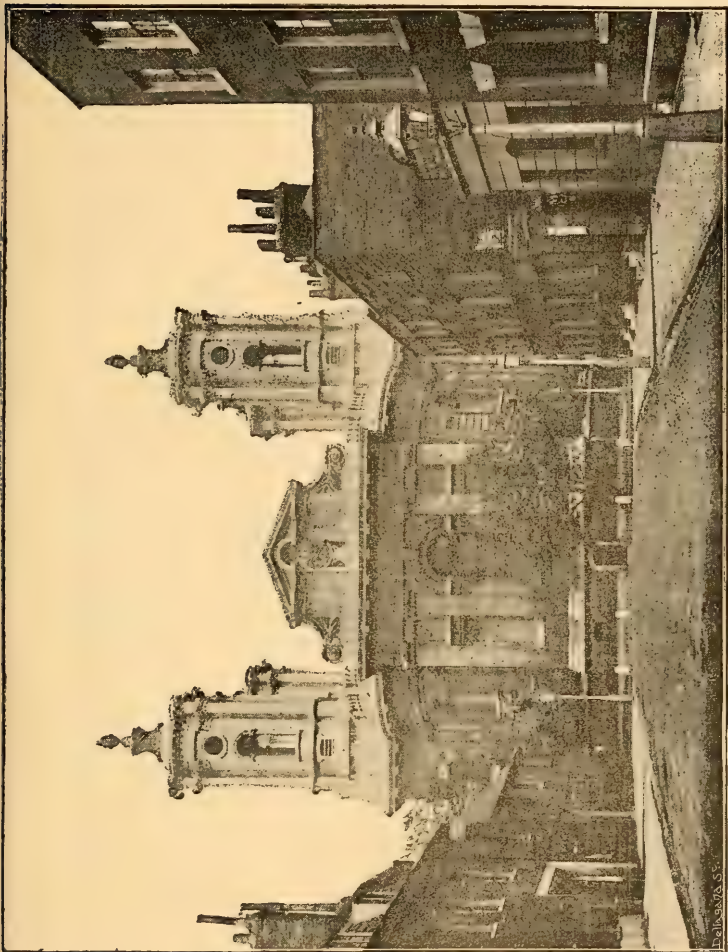
According to "a Westminster antiquary," writing in the *West London Press*, of Aug. 28, 1886, there was a cock-pit in the lane which survived until the Westminster Improvements in 1847 swept it away. Duck-lane extended from Great Peter-street to Orchard-street. So much of it as was not demolished in 1847 was, by order of the Metropolitan Board of Works, dated 7th October, 1864, renamed "St. Matthew-street," in recognition of the new "district of St. Matthew, Great Peter-street" (1850) in which it is now comprised.

SMITH-SQUARE—was known more generally as "St. John's church-yard," until the early part of the present century. Mr. Fitzgerald has felicitously described its semi-respectable *gentility*, reminding one forcibly of some poor wight endeavouring to preserve the appearance of a long-past prosperity:—"Going on a little farther we come to the massive, curious church, which stands in Smith-square, the houses running round being of an odd, old fashion, unlike anything in London. It might be in a country town. This quarter, too, is one of those which has a distinct character, even in its squalor. But it is still pervaded by the ecclesiastical cathedral flavour of the Abbey adjoining."

In Smith-square died, in June, 1806, Mrs. Susannah Churchill, widow of Mr. John Churchill, of Abingdon-street, (*see page 399*), brother of the satirist; and in February 1807, at his house in St. John's church-yard, Westminster, aged 86, Thomas Newton, a relation of the great Sir Isaac.

The description given by Dickens in *Our Mutual Friend* of Smith-square, has been quoted at page 47. Another illustrious novelist, Lord Beaconsfield, shows, in his remarkable romance of *Sybil, or The Two Nations*, so

minute an acquaintance with this out-of-the-way secluded neighbourhood—a sort of back-water, as it were, of the turbulent current of life, streaming along close by—that one may be allowed to infer that the great statesman, when a



The East end of St. John's Church, as seen from Millbank-street.

From a photograph, September, 1892

member of the Lower House, found a refuge and a hiding-place from 'Lobbyists' and a thousand other distractions in these sober streets, during the course of a dull debate, or to collect his thoughts for one of his brilliant replies. The following quotation though somewhat long, will be excused,

when it is seen how intimate Lord Beaconsfield was with the locality, and how faithfully he depicts its peculiar characteristics :—

Egremont had met Sybil in the Abbey, and insisted upon attending her home—

And guided by her, they turned up College Street. . . .

While they thus conversed, they passed through several clean, still streets,* that had rather the appearance of streets in a very quiet country town, than of abodes in the greatest city in the world, and in the vicinity of palaces and parliaments. Rarely was a shop to be remarked among the neat little tenements, many of them built of curious old brick, and all of them raised without any regard to symmetry or proportion. Not the sound of a single wheel was heard ; sometimes not a single individual was visible or stirring. . . . The area round the church, which was sufficiently ample, was formed by buildings, generally of a mean character : the long back premises of a carpenter, the straggling yard of a hackney-man ; sometimes a small, narrow isolated private residence, like a waterspout in which a rat might reside ; sometimes a group of houses of more pretension. In the extreme corner of this area, which was dignified by the name of Smith's Square, instead of taking a more appropriate title from the church of St. John which it encircled, was a large old house, that had been masked at the beginning of the century with a modern front of pale-coloured bricks, but which still stood in its courtyard surrounded by its iron railings, withdrawn as it were from the vulgar gaze like an individual who had known higher fortunes, and blending with his humility something of the reserve which is prompted by the memory of vanished greatness. 'This is my home' said Sybil. 'It is a still place and suits us well.'

Near the house was a narrow †passage which was a thoroughfare into the most populous quarter of the neighbourhood. As Egremont was opening the gate of the courtyard, Gerard ascended the steps of this passage, and approached them. . . .

They entered the large gloomy hall of the house, and towards the end of a long passage Gerard opened a door, and they all went into a spacious melancholy room, situate at the back of the house, and looking upon a small square plot of dank grass, in the midst of which rose a weather-stained Cupid, with one arm broken, and the other raised in the air, and with a long shell to its mouth. It seemed that in old days it might have been a fountain. At the end of the plot, the blind side of a house offered a high wall which had once been painted in fresco.

* Barton-street, Cowley-street, and North-street.

†This house is evidently the old "Rectory House."

‡"Church passage," at the side.

Though much of the coloured plaster had cracked and peeled away, and all that remained was stained and faded, still some traces of the original design might yet be traced : festive wreaths, the colonnades, and perspective of a palace.

In this old Rectory House so minutely described by the noble author, the best scenes in the book are laid, between Egremont and Sybil, the representatives of the "Two Nations"—the Rich and the Poor, the Privileged and the People.

Not only the church, but the old clock appears to have attracted the notice of Disraeli. His readers will recollect the chartist Morley's passionate interview with Sybil, in which the latter had attempted to save her father from the consequences of implication in the chartist rising—

Morley had rushed frantically from the house, raging with jealous anger. "She darted out of the room to recall him ; to make one more effort for her father ; but in vain. By the side of their house was an intricate passage* leading into a labyrinth of small streets. Through this Morley had disappeared ; and his name, more than once sounded in a voice of anguish in that silent and most obsolete Smith Square, received no echo. . . .

The clock of St. John's struck seven.

It was the only thing that spoke in that still and dreary square ; it was the only voice that ever seemed to sound there ; but it was a voice from heaven, it was the voice of St. John.

"Sybil looked up ; she looked up at the holy building. Sybil listened ; she listened to the holy sounds. St. John told her that the danger to her father was so much more advanced. Oh ! why are there saints in heaven if they cannot aid the saintly ! The oath that Morley would have enforced came whispering in the ear of Sybil 'Swear by the holy Virgin, and by all the saints.' And shall she not pray to the holy Virgin, and all the saints ? Sybil prayed ; she prayed to the holy Virgin, and all the saints, and especially to the beloved St. John, most favoured among Hebrew men, who reposed on the the breast of the divine Friend.

"Brightness and courage returned to the spirit of Sybil ; a sense of animating and exalting faith that could move mountains and combat without fear a thousand perils. The conviction of celestial aid inspired her. She rose from her resting-place, and re-entered the house ; only, however, to provide herself with her walking attire, and then, alone and without a guide, the shades of evening already descending, this

* Church-passage.

child of innocence and divine thoughts, born in a cottage and bred in a cloister, went forth, on a great enterprise of duty and devotion, into the busiest and the wildest haunts of the greatest of modern cities."

It may be mentioned here that the rectory house was erected simultaneously with the church. The accounts, in great detail, are preserved in the Public Record Office; but it is sufficient to say here that the total cost was £1,827 10s. 3d., exclusive of the site.

As has been stated in Chapter II. (*page 24*), the site of the parish church, and of the rectory house in the square was purchased of Henry Smith, the freeholder in 1711.

The houses in Smith-square were re-numbered in 1869.

(GREAT) SMITH-STREET—with Smith-square and Little Smith-street, are said by Walcott to have "derived their names from Mr. Smith, the Clerk of the Works at the time of their erection." But there is little reason to doubt that the true derivation is that of Hatton—

"Smith Street. A new street of good buildings, so called from Sir James Smith, the ground landlord, who has here a fine house. It is situated in Westminster fronting the Bowling Alley on the west side of Peter Street."

At the commencement of the last century (1705) there was a turnpike in Smith-street.

Thomas Southern (or Southerne), the dramatist, had a house in Smith-street, in which he died. Southern was an Irishman, born in Co. Dublin (Oxmantown) in 1660. Preferring poetry to law, he early left Trinity College, Dublin, for London, and soon became a popular writer of plays, the first being the *Persian Prince*, acted in 1682. At the time of Monmouth's rising Southern served in the King's army and on quitting it resumed his dramatic writing. He enjoyed great popularity, and lived on terms of intimacy with those of his contemporaries most distinguished for wit or rank—among whom were Dryden and Pope. Doran, in his *Annals of the Stage*,* says of him, "He was a perfect gentleman; he did not lounge away his days or nights in coffee-houses or taverns, but after labour cultivated friendship in

* Vol. I., chap. IX.

home circles, where virtue and modest mirth sat at the hearth. . . . He kept the even tenor of his way, owing no man anything ; never allowing his nights to be the marrer of his mornings ; and at six-and-eighty carrying a bright eye, a steady hand, a clear head, and a warm heart wherewith to calmly meet and make surrender of all to the Inevitable Angel." Southern was fond of Westminster, and lived for many years at Mr. Whyte's, the oilman's, in Tot-hill-street, against Dartmouth-street—afterwards the shop of Mr. Mucklow, who left a charitable bequest to the parish. Southern died at a very advanced age, in Smith-street, on 26th May, 1746, and was buried in St. Paul's, Covent-garden.

"I venerate the man whose heart is warm,
Whose hands are pure, whose doctrine and whose life,
Coincident, exhibit lucid proof
That he is honest—"

COWPER.

Sir Richard Steele (1671-1729) is another great Irishman who is associated with Smith-street, although but slightly. The essayist and collaborateur with Addison writes (about 1797), after the death of his first wife, "to his dear Prue," from Smith-street, Westminster, from Chelsea, and from many coffee-houses and taverns. "Isaac Bickerstaff" married *his* second wife in October, 1707, when he settled down in Bury-street, St. James's. "His own sweet Prue" is buried in the south transept of the Abbey, near Poets' Corner.

William Nichols (or Niccholls), D.D., the theologian, lived in Smith-street in 1711. Born in 1664, he published *The Religion of a Prince* in 1704, and the work for which he is principally remembered, *Comment on the Book of Common Prayer*, in 1710. He died 30th April, 1712.

Edward Wortley Montagu, grandson of the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, bequeathed (1777) all his father's books and manuscripts to John English Dolben. The will reads: "I request that he will publish such

of the latter as he may choose, and give the profits that may arise, to and for the use and benefit of Mrs. Ann Burgess, formerly of Great Smith street, Westminster, as a small acknowledgment for the more than motherly kindness with which she treated me during the ten years I was in her house while at Westminster School." Unfortunately, no further information can be obtained of Mrs. Burgess's other boarders.

The name of "Charles Dilk" appears as the rated householder of a house in Smith-street, in the Poor Rate books of the parishes for the years 1821 to 1824, inclusive. An inquiry made of Sir Charles W. Dilke, M.P., the present baronet, confirmed what had been surmised, that Sir Charles Dilke's talented grandfather, Charles Wentworth Dilke, was a resident in Great Smith-street, in order to be near his son, who was a scholar at Westminster School. Mr. Dilke, who was born in 1789, after his retirement from a situation in the navy pay-office, became proprietor of *The Athenæum* in 1830, which up to that time had not been successful. His intimate friends were the Hoods, Charles Lamb, A. Cunningham, Dickens, Forster, Chorley, J. H. Reynolds, and John Keats; and Thackeray, Cobden, Barry Cornwall, Bulwer, Mrs. Hemans, Landor, Hook, the Howitts and the Brownings were also to be counted amongst his acquaintance. His only son, afterwards Sir Charles W. Dilke, Bart., M.P., the Commissioner, born in 1810, was at Westminster from 1821 to 1826, when, holding the highest position in the school, he was taken by his father to Italy. In 1831 Mr. Dilke reduced the price of *The Athenæum* from 8d. to 4d., to the dismay of Lamb, Reynolds, Cunningham, and others, and by his bold and energetic management, made it not only a popular and influential journal, but a commercial success. In 1846 he gave up the editorship to Mr. Hervey, and soon after became the editor of the *Daily News*, when he lowered the price from 5d. to 2½d. (including stamp duty), by which step that newspaper became the forerunner

of the cheap daily press. Mr. Dilke edited a collection of *Old English Plays*, and his declining years were spent in literary luxury in 'his tub,'—as his library was called. He made a collection of works—bound no two alike, so that he might know them at a glance—bearing on the Junius problem, upon which subject he wrote a series of articles that give evidence in every line of the ripest scholarship. He died near Farnham, August 10, 1864.

The above facts are taken from a memoir written by the present Sir Charles Dilke of his grandfather, prefaced to a collection of articles on Pope, 'Junius,' Burke, Wilkes, &c., entitled *Papers of a Critic* (1875).

From the *Gentleman's Magazine* we learn that Captain Patrick Mount, R.N., died in Smith-street, on May 5, 1790, aged 78; and on January 11, 1799, Edward Beckwith, of the Auditor's office.

In Great Smith-street was the "City of Westminster Literary, Scientific, and Mechanics' Institution," afterwards the "Free Public Library." An account of these institutions will be found elsewhere (chapter xv.) The Public Baths and Wash-houses (see also chapter xv.), of which Mr. Walcott spoke so hopefully just before their establishment, have recently been demolished (1892) to make way for a new block of buildings more worthy of the parish and of the times.

That part of Great Smith-street which lies between Victoria-street and Orchard-street was known until 1865 as Dean-street, when an Order of the late Metropolitan Board abolished the name. The whole of the houses in the thoroughfare between Victoria-street and Marsham-street were then re-numbered and thenceforth known as Great Smith-street. The name was no doubt suppressed in order to prevent confusion with a "Dean-street, Bloomberg-street, Vauxhall-bridge-road" mentioned in Cooke's *Local Directory*, 1847. In this street was, until its demolition at the time of the Westminster Improvements, the Workhouse of

St. Margaret's and St. John's parishes. There is a fine water colour sketch of this workhouse (a red brick structure) in the Crace Collection at the British Museum.

Little Smith-street is an unpretentious short thoroughfare turning out of Great Smith-street on the east side, opposite the Public Baths, into Tufton-street. The Choir House of the Abbey was on the north side, but new handsome premises have recently been erected opposite, at the corner with Tufton-street, to make room for the new Church House that is to occupy the whole of the site between Dean's Yard and Little Smith-street on the north and south, and between Great Smith-street and Tufton-street on the west and east.

Mr. John Buller, a commissioner of excise, died at his house here on 26 November, 1793.

STRUTTON-GROUND — Seymour describes "Stretton-grounds," as he spells the name, as being "a good, handsome, long, well-built, and inhabited street, which runs up to Tothill-fields, almost against the new Workhouse for employing poor people; and hath on the West a Passage into the new *Artillery-ground*, a pretty large Inclosure, made Use of by those that delight in Military Exercise."

The somewhat singular name of Strutton-ground, which was at one time a mere lane leading to Tothill-fields and the road to the Horse Ferry, is a corruption of the name of Stourton. Stourton House, the mansion of the Lords Dacre of the South stood at the south-west end of ancient Tothill-street, "by the entrance into Tothill-fields." It was built anew by Gregory Fiennes, the last Lord Dacre of the South. He died childless in 1594, and it was his wife (Anne, sister to Lord Buckhurst) who founded, by will made in the same year as her husband's death, the "Hospital of Jesus," or "Emanuel Hospital," still situate in James-street close by. Opposite this house was that of Lord Grey de Wilton, and both are shown on Norden's map of London, 1603.

TACHBROOK-STREET—was built between 1845 and 1850, and was occupied for many years by well-to-do ‘city men,’ who gradually forsook it as the facilities for locomotion enabled them to migrate to the suburbs. Many of the houses are now let in apartments to the working classes. The boundary between the parishes of Westminster and St. George, Hanover-square, passes down the centre of the street through its entire length, beneath which passes the King’s Scholars’ pond sewer. Bishop’s Tachbrook is the name of a parish three miles south-east of Warwick.

‘Upper Tachbrook-street’ was the name formerly borne by that part of Tachbrook-street which lies between Vauxhall-bridge-road and Churton-street. The prefix “Upper” was abolished in 1881, when the whole of the street from Lupus-street to the Vauxhall-bridge-road was re-numbered and named “Tachbrook-street, S.W.”

A professional gentleman living in St. George’s-square, whose father and grandfather practised largely in ‘our parish,’ has in his possession a testimonial publicly presented to his grandfather in recognition of his bravery in rescuing a child from drowning in the “Tach Brook.” It has been suggested that the part of the King’s Scholars’ pond sewer which runs beneath the road was locally known by that name, and gives the name to the street; but the suggestion lacks confirmation.

TUFTON-STREET.—Prior to 1869 Tuften-street only extended from Wood-street to Horseferry-road, the remaining part, from Great College-street to Wood-street, having been formerly known as Bowling-street. The name is derived from Sir Richard Tuften of Tothill-street, its first builder. Sir Richard was the fourth son of Sir John Tuften, of Hothfield, knight and baronet. Sir Richard died Oct. 4, 1631, and is buried in the Ambulatory in King Edward the Confessor’s chapel, Westminster Abbey. In 1735, when

Seymour made his survey, this street was not half built. He thus describes it—

“*Tufton-street*, a good, large, and open Place, having on the east side a Row of well-built Houses, but the west side as yet is unbuilt. In this street is *Benet's-yard*, very ordinary.”

In the minutes of St. John's Vestry it is called “a great thoroughfare for carriages.” There was a cock-pit in this street so late as 1815, when the Rev. Joseph Nightingale wrote his *History of the City and Liberty of Westminster*. He says :—

In this street there is a building devoted to the brutal and unmanly amusement of cock fighting. It is a large circular area, with a slightly elevated platform in the centre, surrounded by benches, rising in graduation to nearly the top of the building. That I might be enabled to give this short description, and it merits no other, I have been compelled to witness for a short time one of the most disgraceful and shocking scenes ; for I had no opportunity of going in except at the time of fighting. Here were several hundreds of persons of almost all ages, ranks and conditions, clamorously betting and uttering the most dreadful imprecations, while the poor animals were excited by every species of irritation of which they were susceptible, to the destruction of each other.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* contains the following obituary notices :—

Nov. 27, 1797. In an apoplectic fit, Mr. Finney of Tufton-street, Westminster ; a well-known literary character in diurnal publications.

March 8th, 1802. Of a consumption, under which he had lingered many years, aged 57, Mr. Thomas Wapshott, of Tufton-street, Westminster, builder, respectable in his profession, having repaired the parish church of St. Paul, Covent-garden, 1789, and rebuilt it after the dreadful conflagration of Sept. 17, 1795, with such nearness and simple elegance as at once attract the notice of every spectator ; together with Paddington church, South Lambeth chapel, and many other public edifices.

On the west side of Tufton-street are courts named Tufton-place, William's place, and Bennett's-yard (which extends into Marsham-street), of which nothing further can be said. On the east side are the St. John's National Schools (*see Chapter XV.*) and Little Tufton-street, leading into Smith-square.

BOWLING-ALLEY (or Street)—Mr. Walcott says of this street :—

The Abbey, with its gates, almonry, bell-towers, granary, dormitory, sanctuary, and the monastic buildings enclosing it on every side, must have appeared glorious in the prime of its magnificence indeed, when compared with its present denuded aspect,—St. Margaret's Church and the Cloisters being the last and only relics of its many former beautiful and imposing accessories. Still some streets in the vicinity preserve the memory of the old places, upon the sites of which they have been built. Among others we find Bowling-alley, which was erected upon the Green, where the members of the Convent amused themselves at the game of bowls.

Seymour, in his *Survey*, thus describes the locality :—

The *Bowling-alley* falls into *Great Dean's-alley*, in the north : It is well-built and inhabited ; in which are *Oliver's-yard*, and a Place called *Back-alley*, both ordinary.

The name of Bowling-alley is associated with the notorious Thomas Blood, generally called Colonel Blood, a native of Ireland, and an adventurer of no mean character. He is believed to have been born about 1628. He served as lieutenant in the parliamentary forces, and had a grant of land assigned to him for his pay. Henry Cromwell put him into the commission of the peace. After the restoration, Blood joined a design for surprising Dublin Castle and seizing the person of the Duke of Ormond, then lord-lieutenant. The conspiracy was, however, discovered on the eve of its execution, and Blood fled, harboured by the native Irish in the mountains, and afterwards to Holland and England. He joined the Fifth Monarchy men, and after defeat in the action of Pentland Hills (Nov. 27, 1666) fled back to England, thence to Ireland, and thence to England again, where he lived for a time in disguise at Westminster, meditating revenge against the Duke of Ormond, whom he actually seized on the night of Dec. 6th, 1670, in his coach in St. James's-street, with the intent, as was believed, of carrying him to Tyburn, and there hanging him. The duke, who was tied on horseback to one of Blood's associates, only managed by a violent effort to fling himself and the assassin to the ground, and while they were struggling

in the mire, the duke's servants rescued their master. Blood had so cunningly contrived this enterprise that he was not suspected of being concerned in it, though a reward of £1,000 was offered by proclamation to discover the perpetrators.

“So smooth he daub'd his vice with show of virtue,
He lived from all attainder of suspect.”

RICHARD III.

The miscarriage of this design put him upon one, still more strange and hazardous, to repair his broken fortune, upon which the bad eminence of his infamy principally rests. The author of the *Romance of London* has so well told the tale that we cannot do better than quote his graphic account:—

Scarcely had the public amazement subsided at Colonel Blood's outrage upon the Duke of Ormond, when, with the view of repairing his fallen fortunes, he plotted to steal the crown, the sceptre, and the rest of the regalia from the Tower, and share them between himself and his accomplices. The regalia were, at this time, in the care of an aged man, named Talbot Edwards, who was exhibitor of the jewels, &c., and with whom Blood first made acquaintance, disguised “in a long cloak, cassock, and canonical girdle,” with a woman whom he represented as his wife, who accompanied him to see the crown and jewels.

The lady feigned to be taken ill, upon which they were conducted into the exhibitor's lodgings, where Mr. Edwards gave her a cordial, and treated her otherwise with kindness. They thanked him, and parted; and, in a few days, the pretended parson again called with a present of gloves for Mrs. Edwards, in acknowledgment of her civility. The parties then became intimate, and Blood proposed a match between Edwards's daughter and a supposed nephew of the Colonel, whom he represented as possessed of £200 or £300 a year in land. It was arranged, at Blood's suggestion, that he should bring his nephew, to be introduced to the lady, at seven o'clock on the morning of the ninth of May, 1671; and he further asked leave to bring with him two friends to see the regalia, at the above early hour, as they must leave town in the afternoon. Strype, the antiquary, who received his account from the younger Edwards, tells us that “at the appointed time the old man rose early to receive his guest, and the daughter dressed herself gaily to receive her gallant, when behold, parson Blood, with three men, came to the jewel-house, all armed with rapier blades in their canes, and each with a dagger and a pair of pistols. Two of his companions entered with him, and a third stayed at the door to watch. Blood told Edwards that they would not go upstairs till his wife came, and desired him to show his friends the crown, to pass the time. This was agreed to; but

no sooner had they entered the room where the crown was kept, and the door, as usual, been shut, than 'they threw a cloth over the old man's head, and clapt a gag into his mouth.' Thus secured, they told him that 'their resolution was to have the crown, globe, and sceptre ; and if he would quietly submit to it, they would spare his life, otherwise he was to expect no mercy.' Notwithstanding this threat, Edwards made all the noise he could, to be heard above ; 'they then knocked him down with a wooden mallet, which they had brought with them to beat together and flatten the crown—and told him that if yet he would be quiet, they would spare his life, but if not, upon his next attempt to discover them, they would kill him, and they pointed three daggers at his breast,'—and the official account states, stabbed him in the belly. Edwards, however, persisted in making a noise, when they struck him on the head, and he became insensible, but, recovering, lay quiet. The three villains now went deliberately to work : one of them, Parrot, put the globe (orb) into his breeches ; Blood concealed the crown under his cloak ; and another was proceeding to file the sceptre asunder, in order that it might be put into a bag, 'because too long to carry.'

Thus, they would have succeeded but for the opportune arrival of young Mr. Edwards, from Flanders, accompanied by his brother-in-law, Captain Beekman, who proceeded upstairs to the apartments occupied by the Edwards. Blood and his accomplices, thus interrupted, instantly decamped with the crown and orb, leaving the sceptre, which they had no time to file. Edwards, now freed from the gag, shouted "Treason" ! "Murder" ! and his daughter rushing out into the court, gave the alarm, and cried out that the crown was stolen. Edwards and Captain Beekman pursued the thieves, who reached the drawbridge ; here the warder attempted to stop them, when Blood discharged a pistol at him ; he fell down, and they succeeded in clearing the gates, reached the wharf, and were making for St. Katherine's-gate, where horses were ready for them, when they were overtaken by Captain Beekman. Blood discharged his second pistol at the Captain's head, but he escaped by stooping, and seized Blood, who struggled fiercely ; but on the crown being wrested from him, in a tone of disappointment he exclaimed, "it was a gallant attempt, however unsuccessful, for it was for a crown" ! A few of the jewels fell from the crown in the struggle, but they were recovered and replaced.

Blood, with Parrot (who had the orb and the most valuable jewel of the sceptre—the baleas ruby—in his pocket), were secured and lodged in the White Tower, and three others of the party were subsequently captured. Parrot was a dyer in Thames-street. One of the gang was apprehended as he was escaping on horseback.

Young Edwards now hastened to Sir Gilbert Talbot, master of the jewel-house, and described the transaction, which Sir Gilbert instantly communicated to the King, who commanded him to return forthwith to the Tower, and when he had taken the examination of Blood, and the others, to report it to him. Sir Gilbert accordingly returned, but the King, in the meantime was persuaded by some about him to hear the

examination himself ; and the prisoners, in consequence, were immediately sent to Whitehall ; a circumstance which is thought to have saved them from the gallows. Blood behaved with great effrontery : being interrogated on his recent outrage on the Duke of Ormond, he acknowledged, without hesitation, that he was one of the party ; but on being asked who were his associates, he replied that "he would never betray a friend's life, nor deny a guilt in defence of his own." Lest the concealment of his associates should detract from the romance of his life, he also voluntarily confessed to the King that he, Blood, on one occasion concealed himself among the reeds above Battersea, in order to shoot his Majesty while bathing in the Thames, over against Chelsea, where he often went to swim ;—that he had taken aim for that purpose, but "his heart was checked by an awe of Majesty ;" and he did not only himself relent, but also diverted his associates from the design. This story was, probably, false ; but it had its designed effect on the King, strengthened by Blood's declaration that there were hundreds of his friends disaffected to the King, and his ministers ; whereas by sparing the lives of the few he might oblige the hearts of many, "who, as they had been seen to do daring mischief, would be as bold, if received into pardon and favour, to perform eminent services for the crown."

Thus did the audacious and wary villain partly over-awe and partly captivate the good nature of the King, who not only pardoned Blood, but gave him a grant in land of £500 a year in Ireland, and even treated him with great consideration, "as the Indians reverence devils, that they may not hurt them." Blood is said also to have frequented the same apartments in Whitehall as the Duke of Ormond, who had some time before barely escaped assassination.

Charles received a cutting rebuke for his conduct from the Duke of Ormond, who had still the right of prosecuting Blood for the attempt on his life. When the King resolved to take the Colonel into his favour, he sent Lord Arlington to inform the Duke that it was his pleasure that he should not prosecute Blood, for reasons which he was to give him ; Arlington was interrupted by Ormond, who said, with formal politeness, that "his Majesty's command was the only reason that could be given ; and therefore he might spare the rest." Edwards and his son, who had been the means of saving the regalia, were treated with neglect ; the only reward they received being grants out of the Exchequer, of £200 to the old man, and £100 to his son ; which they were obliged to sell for half their value, through difficulty in obtaining payment.

Strype adds, "What could have been King Charles's real motive for extending mercy to Blood must for ever be a mystery to the world" : unless it was to employ his audacity "to over-awe any man who had not integrity enough to resist the measures of a most profligate Court."

Colonel Blood, not long after his Tower exploit, was met in good society by Evelyn, who, however, remarked his "villainous, unmerciful look ; a false countenance, but very well spoken, and dangerously insinuating."

"And thus I clothe my naked villany
With old odd ends, stol'n out of holy writ,
And seem a saint, when most I play the devil."

RICHARD III.

For several years applications were repeatedly made to the throne through the mediation of Blood, and the indulgence shown to him became a public scandal. The Earl of Rochester has the following lines in his *History of Insipids* :—

"Blood, that wears treason in his face,
Villain complete in parson's gown,
How much is he at court in grace,
For stealing Ormond and the crown !
Since loyalty does no man good,
Let's steal the king and outdo Blood."

The last line but one probably alludes to old Edwards. When the "Cabal" fell to pieces, Blood's consequence at court declined. He then attempted to fix a scandalous imputation on the Duke of Buckingham, his former patron, who obtained a verdict of £10,000 damages in the court of King's Bench. Blood was thrown into prison, but finding bail, was allowed to retire to his house in the Bowling-alley, in order to take such measures as were requisite to extricate himself from his troubles ; but he found so few friends, and met with such numerous heavy disappointments, that he fell into a distemper which speedily threatened his life. He was attended in his sickness by a clergyman, who found him sensible, but reserved, declaring that he was not at all afraid of death. After fourteen days' sickness, he fell into a lethargy and expired August 24th, 1680. Blood was quietly but decently interred two days after in New Chapel Yard, Broadway (now Christ Church, Victoria-street), "but," says Cunningham, "dying and being buried were considered by the common people in the light of a new trick on the part of their old friend the Colonel. So the coroner was sent for, the body taken up, and a jury summoned. There was some difficulty at first in identifying the body. At length the thumb of the left hand, which

in Blood's lifetime was known to be twice its proper size, set the matter everlastingly at rest ; the jury separated, and the notorious Colonel was restored to his grave in the New Chapel Yard."

And so ended the life of as pretty a rogue, knowing how "to smile and smile and be a villain," as any the history of England can show—

"A cutpurse of the empire and the rule ;
That from a shelf the precious diadem stole,
And put it in his pocket !"

HAMLET.

A broadside published at the time, styled *An Elegie on Colonel Blood*, thus commemorated his welcomed demise—

Thanks, ye kind fates, for your last favour shown,—
For stealing Blood, who lately stole the crown.

At last our famous hero, Colonel Blood,—
Seeing his projects all will do no good,
And that success was still to him denied,—
Fell sick with grief, broke his great heart, and died.

Walcott says that the house which was once the residence of Blood stood at the junction of Great St. Peter and Tufton-streets, overlooking Bowling-alley ; but according to a fine water-colour sketch made by Shepherd in 1853, and preserved in the Crace collection at the British Museum, the house can be identified as that now numbered 38 and 40 in Tufton-street, on the west-side, and close to the north-west corner of the street, at its junction with Wood-street. It is an old red-brick structure of three storeys, and is pierced by the archway of Tufton-place in the centre ; the doorways of Nos. 38 and 40, approached by steps, are at the extreme ends of the house, right and left ; the basement is enclosed in iron railings ; and the house has attic dormers. Although now dilapidated, the house bears every evidence of having been built for the occupation of "gentle" people, as indeed were at one time all the houses in this street and the vicinity. This house was distinguished by a shield with a coat of arms—"now obliterated," says

Walcott (1849)—built into the brick work over the first storey. The Rev. Mr. Aglionby, the present vicar of Christ Church, says that all trace of Blood's grave has long since disappeared.

'Like father, like son.' The son of the Colonel, Captain Blood, is stated to have kept up his gentility (*circa* 1692) by stopping His Majesty's mails.

Bowling-alley and Bowling-street were one and the same. Perhaps the word 'street' was of a later date, when the term 'alley' began to have a depreciative meaning.

Vine-terrace—between Church-passage and Tufton-street, was abolished in name at the same time (1869) as Vine-street.

Olivers-court—was in Bowling-alley, on the west side.

Black Dog-alley is a narrow court running from Great College-street into Tufton-street. According to Walcott, it stands on the site of Abbot Benson's small garden; "and the Hostelry Garden (where the visitors of the monastery were entertained) extended over the ground which lay between the Bowling Green and the river-bank."

VAUXHALL-BRIDGE-ROAD—Extending from Vauxhall-bridge and Bessborough-gardens to Victoria-station, may be regarded, though of so recent date, as forming roughly the boundary line between the postal districts of 'Westminster' and 'Pimlico.' The road of course owes its origin to the construction of Vauxhall-bridge, which in its turn was built for the purpose of affording facility of access for visitors to the once famous Vauxhall-gardens. (*See page 255*). Cooke's *Westminster Local Directory* (1847), mentions "Vauxhall-bridge-road, from the bridge to the corner of Warwick-street," showing that the northern half was not built forty-five years ago.

Hughson in his *Walks through London* (1817) says:—"The new road to Vauxhall Bridge runs immediately to the rear of the west side of this [Vincent] square; and since the road was constructed, a number of new houses, and even

new streets, are building on each side, especially since the bridge was thrown open."

Houses were erected on either side piecemeal fashion,—terrace after terrace—and thus a number of subsidiary names came into existence, which were abolished in 1865, by an Order of the late Metropolitan Board, dated 6th January. The greater part of Vauxhall-bridge-road (from the bridge to Rochester-row) lies in St. John's parish, a very small portion (Rochester-row to Francis-street) in St. Margaret's parish, and the remainder of its length in St. George's. Without drawing a hard and fast line, therefore, it may be convenient to give here the full list of the subsidiary names in Westminster suppressed in 1865, for the sake of future reference:—

On the north side—

- (a) Gloucester-terrace, from Francis-street to Rochester-row.
- (b) Bloomburg-terrace,* from Rochester-row to Bloomburg-street, originated in the establishment, in the year 1857, of an experimental dépôt in Bloomburg-terrace, Vauxhall-bridge-road.
- (c) Providence-terrace, from Stanford-street to Edward-street.
- (d) *St. Alban's-terrace (or place), from Edward-street to Carey-place.
- (e) Roehampton-place, from Wheeler-street to Roehampton-street.

On the south side.

- (f) Belvoir-terrace, from the corner with Tachbrook-street to Warwick-street.
- (g) *Milton-terrace, from Churton-street to the Guards' Hospital, 4 houses, now 163-5-7-9, Vauxhall-bridge-road.
- (h) *St. James's-terrace, from the Military Hospital to Charlwood-street, now 147-9, 151-3-5-7-9, Vauxhall-bridge-road.
- (i) *Elizabeth-place, from Chapter-street to Dorset-street.
- (j) *Stafford-place, 6 houses, counting from Russell-street, now 13, 15, 17, 19, 21-3, Vauxhall-bridge-road.

The eastern or bridge end of the road was cut through the Salisbury estate purchased by Jeremy Bentham about 1800 for a site for Millbank Penitentiary. The tramway was first laid in the road in 1871-2. Though upwards of 1,370 yards in its entire length, and of an average width of sixty feet, Vauxhall-bridge-road is a dull thoroughfare.

* The extensive Army Clothing Dépôt in the Grosvenor-road (opened 1859). Those marked * are given in Cooke's *Directory*.

"Here in the long unlovely street" there is not a single house that can be pointed out for recognition as remarkable or interesting. On the south side are the Scots Guards' Hospital (*see* chap. XV.), and further eastwards the schools attached to the church of the Holy Trinity. The monotonous tinkle of the ha'penny tram added, until recently, to the depression of what might have been a fine thoroughfare—a second Regent-street—full of movement and flanked by handsome shops and magazines. Perhaps such a future is in store for it, when the promised new Vauxhall bridge is a reality; for so direct and commodious a route between two important railway stations ought to possess a more prosperous and lively appearance than its present stuccoed lodging-houses and third-rate shops afford.

But what see you beside? A shabby stand
Of hackney coaches—a brick house or wall,
Flanking some lonely court, white with the scrawl,
Of our unhappy politics ;—or worse—
A wretched woman reeling by, whose curse

You must accept in place of serenade.

SHELLBY.

Toll bars, erected by the Bridge Company, who maintained the road, stood at the junction of several of the smaller streets with this road until fifty years ago.

The site of the Pest-houses—the Seven Houses—was perpetuated by Five Chimney-court, now called Douglas-place. A map of the city and liberty of Westminster made by Thomas Cooke in 1847, shows Five Chimney-court running off Vauxhall-bridge-road on the north side immediately to the north west of Dorset-street, and places it beyond doubt that Douglas-place occupies the spot where the lonely Pest-houses once stood, in the midst of Tothill-fields. The court is also shown by a plan of Taylor's, 1828. Lack's cottages in Douglas-place were incorporated with the 'place' in 1889.

Vincent-square has been already dealt with (*see page* 310). The houses were re-numbered in 1871, and again in 1884.

Vincent-street now reaches from the square to Earl-street, crossing Regency-street. In it are Vincent-court and Vincent-row. Vincent-place is in Frederick-street; the houses were re-numbered in 1886. By an Order of the late Metropolitan Board, dated 18th July, 1873, Wilton-street was incorporated as part of Vincent-street. It extended from Earl-street to Kensington-place, and was named after Lord Grey de Wilton. The first Earl of Wilton was Sir Thos. Egerton, seventh baronet, whose peerage was in remainder to the second and all the younger sons successively of his daughter, who married Lord Belgrave, afterwards Marquis of Westminster; his baronetcy, however, reverted to the next male heir. The second earl assumed the surname of Egerton in lieu of his patronymic Grosvenor in 1821 (*Dod's Peerage*).

The name of Vincent-terrace on the south side of Vincent-street (Nos. 71 to 83), was superseded by an order of the Metropolitan Board of Works in 1873.

A very small part of Warwick-street is in Westminster—that which lies between Tachbrook-street and Vauxhall-bridge-road; the rest, which extends to Ebury-bridge, is in St. George's parish. And even of that small part, only four houses on the south side are in St. John's parish. But Warwick-street has every claim to be noticed here, inasmuch as it is considered by good authorities to be identical with the old Willow Walk—a footway which crossed Tothill-fields from the 'Ship' Tavern at Millbank due west in the direction of the Vauxhall-bridge-road, passing the 'Chimney Houses.' On each side of it was a ditch and a line of pollard willows: sufficient indication of the humid nature of old Tothill-fields.—

“Some trees their birth to bounteous Nature owe;
For some, without the pains of planting, grow.
With osiers thus the banks of brooks abound,
Sprung from the watery genius of the ground.
From the same principles grey willows come,
Herculean poplar, and the tender broom.”

VIRGIL, *GEORGICS* II.

The eastern end of the "walk" was also known by the name of the Halfpenny Hatch—the proprietor used to charge wayfarers the sum of a halfpenny each for using the hatch. Many similar "hatches" at one time existed amongst the suburban fields, as at Lambeth, Bermondsey, and in the neighbourhood of Tottenham-court-road. The authors of *Rejected Addresses* (1803) mention the Hatch in making reference to the burning of Astley's theatre—

Next at Millbank he crossed the river Thames ;
Thy hatch, O Half-penny ! passed in a trice,
Boil'd some black pitch, and burnt down Astley's twice.

It should be mentioned that there is a Willow-street close by in St. Margaret's parish; extending from the opposite corner of Vauxhall-bridge-road with Rochester-row to Francis-street.

Walcott-street was the name given by a Metropolitan Board Order dated 7th December, 1888, to that part of Douglas-street which extended from Rochester-row to Vincent-square. A brief notice has been given of Westminster's latest and best historian under the head of Great College-street (*page 412*), where he lived during his connection with St. Margaret's parish.

Wheeler-street and John's-place (Bell-street) were named after Canon John Wheeler, 1792.

WOOD-STREET.—Seymour had a very poor opinion of this street as he found it in 1720.—"*Wood-street* very narrow with ordinary Houses especially on the north side, being old boarded Hovels ready to fall, and wants new building ; this street also falls into the *Mill-bank*."

"At the corner of Wood-street, when daylight appears,
Hangs a thrush that sings loud, it has sung for three years."

Walcott relates that it was into "the Blind Dock," on the north side of the wharf opposite Wood-street, that Catherine Hayes, in 1726, threw her husband's head, having cut it off with the assistance of two accomplices. A lighter-man found the 'severed head' in the water, and the magistrate ordered it to be set upon a pole in St. Margaret's

church-yard. "The murderess in consequence was soon discovered, and committed to Tothill-fields Bridewell. She suffered at Tyburn on May 9, 1726, the dreadful death of burning, as the executioner was unable, owing to the quick spread of the fire, to strangle her; and the spectators expressed their detestation of her atrocity by heaping fresh faggots about the stake."

John Carter, F.S.A., the distinguished architect and antiquary, lived in this street. He was born in Piccadilly on June 22nd, 1748, the son of a sculptor, who left him destitute at the early age of 15. Richard Gough, the antiquary and topographer, made a *protégé* of him; and his etchings, engraved in the *Sepulchral Monuments*, made him known to Sir John Soane, Dr. Milner, John Kemble, and Lord Orford, to the last of whom he dedicated *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting*. For the Society of Antiquaries he made surveys of several cathedrals and the College of St. Stephen. "He watched with a provoked eye the architectural innovations of the last century, which bid fair to injure irreparably the Abbey, St. Margaret's Church, and other ancient buildings." He also published *Ancient Architecture of England*, 1795—1816. He died on September 8th, 1818.

The portion of Wood-street between Tufton-street and Marsham-street was known as Little Peter-street until 29th May, 1868, when the name was abolished by order of the Metropolitan Board of Works.

Having conducted the considerate reader to those streets and places which present anything worthy of record in these pages, we feel constrained, in closing so long a chapter, to offer an apology for having encumbered it with so much tedious detail. It will probably be allowed, however, that the many particulars relating to the nomenclature of the streets, may be of some service in years to come, in the identification of the places, if not also of some of the properties, which have undergone change in that respect.

CHAPTER XIV.

PAROCHIAL PATRIOTISM AND PATRONAGE.

" This England never did, nor never shall
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
But when it first did help to wound itself.

Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them. Nought shall make us rue
If England to itself do rest but true."

KING JOHN.

" Stirred up with the high hopes of living to be brave men and worthy patriots, dear to and famous to all ages."—MILTON.

Westminster on the defensive.—William Wilberforce.—Bennet Langton.—The Armed Association formed.—Regulations.—The King's approval.—Reviews in Hyde-park.—Presentation of Colours.—The Corps disbanded.—Loyalty in various forms.—Special Constables.—Jacob Cole, 'a merry soul.'—The value of Vestry patronage.—Importance of Westminster as a constituency.—Some exciting elections.—Macaulay's description.—Vestry activity.—List of Parliamentary representatives.

IN this chapter it is proposed to notice the loyalty and patriotism of our forefathers in St. John's, and to give a few brief references to the value which attached, a century ago, to the support and influence of 'our Vestry' in connection with parliamentary elections.

In order to do justice to the first of the two subjects, it would be necessary for us to picture to ourselves the state of England, if not that of Europe in the closing years of the last century; but though we turn from the blood-thirstiness which was so rapidly spreading over France at the time, we cannot lose sight of the consternation and dismay which prevailed throughout England. Yet, the note of despair was never heard. If there was mutiny in small sections of the navy at home, there was victory abroad—victory which immortalised the names of Nelson and Collingwood

and Duncan ; and victory which raised the patriotism of England to a point it had never previously attained. With a powerful camp formed at Boulogne, and a large flotilla in readiness to carry out the invasion of ‘our tight little island,’ the patriotism soon took a practical form, nowhere more so than in Westminster, where ‘our Vestry,’ in conjunction with their confreres in St. Margaret’s were quickly on the alert. On 28th April, 1798, they issued a circular to the parishioners as follows :—

SIR,

At a meeting of the Vestries of St. Margaret and St. John the Evangelist, Westminster, held this day, it having been resolved expedient, in the present state of public affairs, to form an Armed Association therein, and to appoint a Committee for carrying such Resolutions into effect ; and you being nominated one of that Committee, I am desired to request the favour of your attendance in St. Margaret’s Vestry Room, on Tuesday next, at half-past 10 o’clock precisely, for the above purpose.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

S. STEVENSON, *Sec.*

Then follows a list of the Committee, composed of 25 inhabitants, who were vestrymen, and 25 inhabitants not vestrymen ; all alike eager to help King George—

. . . in his time of storm

As every loyal subject ought to do.

3 HENRY VI.

Many were doubtless eminent men in their day ; but from each list we will take only one name, selecting from the first that of William Wilberforce.

Ten years before this (*i.e.*, in 1788), when he was seated, as he tells us, with Mr. Pitt, in Holwood Park, under a large oak tree “just above the steep descent into the vale of Keston,” he resolved to bring in a bill for the emancipation of the slaves in the British possessions. A stone seat placed by Lord Stanhope now marks the spot, and the large oak is still vigorous. For thirty-five years longer this noble man was to continue his work, ere he could see it consummated.

From the "Inhabitants not Vestrymen," we will take the name of Bennet Langton, of Langton, in Lincolnshire, the beloved friend of Samuel Johnson, who says of him, "Langton, Sir, has a grant of free warren from Henry the Second, and Cardinal Stephen Langton in King John's reign, was of this family"; again, "the earth does not bear a worthier man than Bennett Langton," and again, "I know not who will go to heaven if Langton does not."

If these two gentlemen were types of the men forming the Committee of the Armed Association, then verily a nobler and more patriotic Committee could hardly be found to exist; the one, belonging to the same family as he who led the barons when they took the shackles off the people of England, and forced King John to sign Magna Charta, on 18th June, 1215; the other, who was to take off the fetters and set free the African slaves in our dominions.

This Committee soon got to work, for three days after their first meeting: viz., on May 1st, we find this minute recorded:—

"At a meeting of the Committee, appointed at a joint meeting of the Vestries, for forming an Armed Association within these Parishes, held in St. Margaret's Vestry Room.

The Rt Hon. Lord Viscount Belgrave in the chair.

It was resolved unanimously as follows:—

- I. That this Association shall be composed of Householders, and such other Inhabitants in these Parishes as may be recommended individually by two Householders, being Members of the Association. Also that the Committee be empowered to reject from this Association any Individual whether Householder, or Inhabitant.
- II. That this Association shall consist of a Body of Infantry, armed with Muskets and Bayonets, and be formed into Companies, which shall be commanded by Officers to be elected by their said respective Companies, subject to the Approbation of His Majesty.
- III. That this Association shall be for the Protection of these Parishes; it being understood, that no person shall be obliged, in any Case, to go out of the said Parishes, without his own individual Consent.

- IV. That a Uniform be worn by the Association as follows, viz. A Blue Coat, with Black Collar and Yellow Buttons, White Waistcoat and Pantaloon, round Hat and Cockade.
- V. That the Association provide themselves with Uniforms, and that the Arms and Accoutrements be furnished either by the Individuals themselves, according to Pattern, or by Application to Government.
- VI. That the Committee shall be at liberty to accept as Honorary Members of this Association, such Persons as either from their not constantly residing within these Parishes, or from the State of their Health, or from any other Cause, cannot engage for their constant Attendance.
- VII. That the Corps shall not be required to exercise more than twice a Week, nor more than Two Hours at each time.
- VIII. That the Committee will meet in Saint Margaret's Vestry Room on Thursday next, and following days (Sundays excepted), from the Hours of Ten o'Clock till Two, for the purpose of receiving the Names of such Persons as are inclined to join the Association.

IT WAS ALSO UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVED, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Chairman, for his ready Assistance, and Zeal in promoting the Business of this day.

Resolved also, That the foregoing Resolutions be inserted in the public Papers, and distributed by Hand Bills among the Inhabitants.

By order of the Committee.

SIMON STEPHENSON, *Secretary.*

Subsequent minutes of the Armed Association record that, while an application to the Dean for the use of the College Garden as a training ground was unsuccessful, Lord Gwydyr had granted the use of the Court of Requests, and the Government had placed the Cotton Garden at the disposal of the Association for the purpose. "The Right Honourable Lord Viscount Belgrave," of St. John's, was unanimously elected by ballot as the Commanding Officer.

"Stand forth ! be men ! repel an impious foe,
 Impious and false, a light yet cruel race,
 Who laugh away all virtue, mingling mirth
 With deeds of murder. . . .

. . . . Stand we forth ;
 Render them back upon the insulted ocean
 And let them toss as idly on its waves
 As the vile sea-weed."

COLERIDGE.

Encouraged by the ready response to the appeal for funds for the corps and the band, the Association passed a further series of resolutions fixing the strength of the corps at ten companies, or 800 rank and file ; directing that application be made to the Government for 24 pikes, 7 drums, 450 stand of arms, and ammunition for 800 men ; and according thanks to the churchwardens of the two parishes for having obtained the leave of the united vestries for the erection of a butt in Tothill-fields for ball-cartridge practice.

A letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex to Lord Belgrave informs him that Mr. Dundas " had laid the plan of the Association of the parishes of St. Margaret and St. John before the King ; That His Majesty had derived great satisfaction from the zeal and public spirit which had given rise to that offer, and had been most graciously pleased to accept the same."

A grand review, at which 6,693 men presented themselves—525 infantry and 116 cavalry from Westminster—took place on the King's birthday, 4th June, 1799. The corps were to be on the ground before 7 a.m., and to be in readiness for the arrival of the King at 9 o'clock. The regulations issued by His Royal Highness Frederick, Commander-in-Chief, included an order that at the eighth cannon " three English cheers will be given, hats and hands waving in the air, drums beating, and music playing ' God save the King.' " A letter, dated from the Horse Guards the same day, and signed ' Frederick F.M. Commander-in-Chief ' stated that " His Royal Highness, the Commander-in-Chief has His Majesty's particular commands to communicate to the several corps of Volunteers assembled this morning in Hyde-park, the great satisfaction with which His Majesty witnessed their regularity and military appearance, and the strong manifestation of their cordial and affectionate attachment to His Majesty." The King inspected them again on the 21st June, and a somewhat similar circular was issued.

Another review was held in Hyde-park in July, 1801, when 4,700 Associated Corps mustered, and when the Westminster Cavalry formed the escort of the Prince of Wales. Upwards of 30,000 spectators were present.*

On 4th January, 1804, our local corps took a prominent part in proceedings which are recorded in great detail in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxiv., pt. I., p. 71, from which the following is extracted:—

The splendid and interesting spectacle which was this day displayed at Ranelagh fully answered the expectation which had been formed of it. Its effect was greatly heightened by the ease and adroitness with which the Queen's Royal Volunteers performed their part of the ceremony, together with the great regularity observed in all the other proceedings of the day. At 9 o'clock the Westminster Cavalry mustered in Hyde-park: their accoutrements were in excellent order, their horses in high condition, and they exhibited a very striking military appearance: they then proceeded to Ranelagh, to take the different stations which had been appointed for them. A party of them were stationed at the end of Ranelagh-lane, close to the Green, and at the beginning of it, and others patrolled the road leading from Ranelagh to Buckingham-gate. The corps being thus judiciously disposed, no large body of people could assemble, or carriages accumulate, to obstruct the general arrangements. The St. Margaret and St. John's Volunteers assembled at an early hour in Westminster-hall, and thence proceeded to Ranelagh-green. A detachment of them formed a line across the green, to keep the doors free from the pressure of curious intruders: another party was stationed to examine persons on foot, as they passed, to ascertain if they had tickets, and to prevent those who were not so fortunate from passing the line. A small detachment was posted at the carriage-gate leading into the gardens, to prevent any person passing that way, and to keep a clear passage for the Royal carriages. At a quarter past 12, the trumpet announced the arrival of the Courtly party in three of his Majesty's carriages. They were preceded by two Noblemen's carriages, and followed by five. When they reached the gate leading into the garden, which it was necessary for them to pass through, Major Rolleston rode before them uncovered, and ushered them into it. As the first of the Royal carriages was passing through the gateway, the horses became restive for some time, till one of the St. Margaret and St. John's Volunteers seized the bridles, and led them along. The Royal retinue having reached the entrance at the West side of the Rotunda, Major Rolleston alighted from his horse, and handed the Countess of Harrington and her attendants from their carriages. . . .

* *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxi., pt. II., p. 661.

Ranelagh has seldom exhibited so distinguished a display of beauty, elegance, and fashion. On the arrival of the Countess in the box fitted up for her reception, the two regiments of the Queen's Royal Volunteers, under the command of Lord Hobart, having taken their station two hours before, presented arms, with the bands playing. As soon as the corps had shouldered arms, two pairs of colours were introduced, and placed on each side of the Royal box. The King's colours of each regiment was a plain Union Standard, but the county or regimental colour, which has been designed and executed by the Princess, was a superb piece of needlework. The ground was a rich purple silk, and in the centre of the colour were her Majesty's arms, embroidered and surrounded with sprigs of variegated colours and designs. At the lower corner were the letters C.R.; and under the coat of arms were the words "Queen's Royal Volunteers."

The Chamberlain then descended from the box, and gave the colours to Major Rolleston, who was in the box with her Ladyship, and on his knees held them by a piece of ribband, which tied them together, two and two.

Major Rolleston now untied the ribband, and gave the golden cord which supported the tassels into her Ladyship's hand, and she gradually let the colours descend to the ensigns, who were on their knees ready to receive them: they then arose and went to present them to their regiments, who received them with presented arms, while the band played "God save the King."

The regiments did not march pass her Ladyship; this part of the ceremony was rendered impracticable, from the concourse of spectators. Immediately on the Countess receiving the royal salute, she, with her attendants, returned in the same manner as they came. The regiments marched four deep to Lord Hobart's, and lodged their colours. They quitted them as they received them, with present arms, officers saluting, &c., after which they were dismissed.

The following letter to Lord Belgrave, from William Wilberforce, from Broomfield, and dated March 27th, 1799, will be read with much interest in connection with this volunteer movement:—

MY DEAR LORD,

We are all apt to delay the Execution of a painful Duty, and I have too long put off the Task to which I am now proceeding, of declaring to you more formally, what I have already thrown out to you in private, that I must decline any longer belonging to the Westminster Corps, even as an Honorary Member.

My cordial wish to promote that Excellent Institution prompted me to offer my Services, such as they might prove, but I am sorry to say, that I find that I undertook far more than I am able to execute, in holding out the expectation of my being, *at any time*, serviceable in a Military Capacity, to which both my Strength and my Weak Health

render me wholly incompetent. I am therefore under the necessity of retiring, but allow me to request your Lordship to do me the Honour to Explain to the Corps, the motives which *absolutely compel* me to relinquish a situation, which I honour and esteem, and to assure them, that it will ever give me pleasure as a Committee man, and in every other way, to manifest the sense I entertain of the value of the Institution, and the earnest desire I feel to render to it my best, tho' feeble co-operation and assistance.

If I were writing to any other person, I should perhaps proceed to state my unaffected unwillingness to break any link which unites me with your Lordship, but I will only say, on this part of the subject, that my reluctance to quit the Corps is increased by the honour and benefit it derives from having your Lordship at the Head of it.

I remain, with cordial regard,

My dear Lord,

Yours very sincerely,

W. WILBERFORCE.

We cannot forbear inserting another letter, the writer being a gun-maker carrying on business in Parliament-street :—

“GENTLEMEN,

Finding from the nature of my business that I cannot with propriety join your Armed Association, and having received a circular letter stating that any *pecuniary* assistance would be accepted, beg leave to present you with a *Musket* and *Bayonet* as my mite towards your fund ; and any advice I can give respecting the Arms in general shall be at your service.”

I am, &c.,

W. LOWE.

A note at the back of the letter says “With a Musket.” A letter from Mr. Vidler, of Millbank-row announced his willingness to give £20 to the fund, and offered the corps the use of his field for training. He hoped that no foe would dare to provoke their “just displeasure (without suffering death thereby), which I trust is the hope of every true friend of his country.”

In times of disturbance or apprehended riot, and at fires, the Association placed the services of its members at the disposal of the civil authorities.

One of the engraved silver plates on the ‘Westminster

Tobacco Box' represents the Armed Association of the two parishes at a drum-head service in Westminster Hall in 1804.

The corps were disbanded in 1805, when their colours were deposited in the parish church of St. Margaret. In the course of a rummage in the tower of the church in 1885, they were fortunately brought to light. They were forthwith repaired, and shortly afterwards handed to the Queen's Westminster Volunteers, by whom they were publicly presented to the Church, in a highly interesting ceremony, on the 27th March, 1887. They were subsequently placed on either side of the chancel, where it is hoped they may long remain a memorial of the unswerving loyalty of the united parishes.

The outburst of loyalty and patriotism evinced at this crisis was no new thing in the history of 'our parish.' Fifty-three years before, in 1745, the young Pretender had landed in June, had made himself master of Edinburgh in September, and had entered Carlisle on 6th November. On the 23rd of the same month the United Vestries of St. Margaret and St. John resolved that a subscription should be opened for raising a sum of money "for the immediate support and defence of His Majesty against his rebels, and for the support of the public peace." The 'Middlesex and Westminster Associations' were also formed "for enlisting men into his Majesty's land forces." The Vestry accorded its unanimous support to the objects of the association, and voted a bounty of £5 to every man between 17 and 45 years of age, and of a minimum height of 5 ft. 5 in., who enlisted.

On 7th December, 1792, the Vestry passed a long resolution setting forth "the blessings derived from the present excellent form of government," and forming themselves into an Association to prevent seditious publications and meetings; and on 14th April, 1794, having in view the late successes of the French armies on the continent, and the

danger to England therefrom, the Vestry of St. John's joined with their neighbours of St. Margaret's in a declaratory resolution that "the raising of volunteer companies may be essential towards preserving the public peace in case of sudden emergency."

Such records as these vividly recall the sentiment Wordsworth has transmitted to us in his *Patriotic Sympathies*:—

Yet do I love my country
 Her glory meets me with the earliest beam
 Of light, which tells that morning is awake.
 If aught impair her beauty or destroy,
 Or but forbode destruction, I deplore
 With filial love the sad vicissitude ;
 If she hath fallen and righteous Heaven restore
 The prostrate, then my spring-time is renewed,
 And sorrow bartered for exceeding joy.

At the celebration of the jubilee of King George III., in October, 1809, a house to house canvass was made which resulted in the collection of £639 1s. 6d., which was distributed, mainly in provisions, at the parish churches of St. Margaret and St. John. No less than 644 poor families, consisting of 2045 persons, participated in the bounty. In 1822, a subscription set on foot by the Vestry towards the fund for ameliorating the distress in Ireland, realised £135; and in January, 1827, £148 was collected "for the relief of the distressed manufacturers."

The parishioners of St. John's also bore a part, though in a smaller degree than in 1809, in the public celebration of the jubilee of her present Majesty's reign in 1887. Of the £3036 then raised, £400 was contributed by 'our parish'; not that the spirit of loyalty or the means of demonstrating it were less, but that the ways of appropriating the funds were too numerous to admit of unanimity. After defraying the cost of a memorial window in St. Margaret's church, for which certain of the donations were specially reserved, the funds were applied to the entertainment at the Town Hall of 600 poor persons of not less than the Queen's age (68), to the feasting

of 8000 school children, each of whom was presented with a commemorative medal in bronze, and to the permanent endowment of three cots for sick children in Westminster Hospital, to which the children of the poor in the united parishes should have priority of admission.

It would be an easy task to adduce from the Vestry minutes and the churchwardens' accounts, further instances of the loyal attachment of the parish to the sovereign and the royal family—addresses of congratulation in times of national rejoicing, and orders for the tolling of the bell, and the draping of the church with black in times of national sorrow ; but we must forbear. We cannot omit, however, to refer to the good citizenship of Westminster at times of threatened disturbance of the public peace. Thus, at the Chartist rising in 1848, the Vestries resolved unanimously "that having regard to the disturbed state of the metropolis, the Vestries are of opinion that it is necessary immediate arrangements should be made for appointing and swearing in a sufficient number of special constables for the preservation of the public peace, and protection of the property of the inhabitants of these parishes." A special meeting of the Vestry was held on 6th April, 1848, "to take prompt measures for swearing in an additional number of special constables," and an address was issued requesting all well-disposed householders to enrol themselves. This was so readily responded to that some 3,000 men joined the amateur force. After the excitement had subsided, Mr. Jacob Cole, an active member of the parochial boards, whose humorous efforts never failed to add to the enjoyment of the convivial gatherings, introduced a sketch of the proceedings in the form of a song. As some of the seniors in the parochial circle may welcome so pleasant a reminder of bygone times, and as some of the juniors may allow that the facetiæ of their predecessors were not entirely devoid of

merit, the composition is, by the courtesy of Mr. Warrington Rogers, here reprinted :—

When riot does disturb the land, than me there is none *Sorrier*,
So to add my might unto the Peace I turn out as a warrior ;
A lot of neighbors joined with me as “ Specials ” to repel any,
In fact, we out in numbers came—“ a Constable’s miscellany.”

Row, Row, all in expectation of a special good Row.

Sir Robert Peel, Tom Smith, Geo. Trout, with others of ability,
Like “ Peelers ” or “ blue bottles,” marched to keep the town’s tran-
quility [about.

With heavy truncheons in our fists—to break their heads or backs
Blue bottles ? No, we were like *Bees*—because we dealt our *whacks*
Row, Row, &c. [about.

James Rogers (*a*) made a raw recruit of ev’ry small and large gent,
’Cause being in the *Law* he was well qualified for *Sergeant* ;
He talk’d of their expected *Deeds*—on their duties he enlarges,
And, in case of any *action*—showed ’em how to make their *charges*.

Row, Row, &c.

Churchwarden Sugg, (*b*) with anxious zeal, was due arrangements
making,

And *gravely* did his part *rehearse* to meet the *undertaking* ;
And had he *punched* a chartist’s head, that *punch* had proved a
cruncher,

’Cause Sugg had taken lessons from a very *noted Puncher*. (*c*)

Row, Row, &c.

The noble Talbot took command, and was to glory leading us,
And as his height *was 6 feet 10*—he was the man for *heading* us.
Then Captain *Withall* (*d*) took his rounds, and smoked his mild
Havannah,

And shared this arduous duty with his first Lieutenant *Hannah*. (*d*)

Row, Row, &c.

Some foreign chartists joined the mob, and mischief would have done,
Sirs,

But the tow’ring voice of *Woolley* (*e*) shouted, *woulez-vous*, move on, Sirs.
Friend Forty showed a discipline and vigour that would charm ye,
For besides his *corp’ral* strength, he’d been a *Corp’ral in the army*.

Row, Row, &c.

(*a*) Solicitor to the Vestry and Clerk to the Justices.

(*b*) Mr. Sugg was an undertaker by trade.

(*c*) Mr. Puncher was Mr. Sugg’s co-churchwarden in 1846.

(*d*) Mr. William Withall and Mr. Joseph Hannah were the churchwardens of St. Margaret’s in 1848.

(*e*) Mr. Wm. Woolley was churchwarden of St. John’s in 1847-8-9.

Tho' some might shirk the cause that did on ev'ry gallant soul call,
 Brother *Stamp* (*d*) and all the *Bakers* were most punctual at the *roll*
call;

Then all went out and marched about for chartists keenly *sarching*;
 The *shop-keepers* not only *marched*, but did their *counter-marching*.

Row, Row, &c.,

Tho' fagged and jaded they paraded ev'ry low and high street ;
 The *poult'ners* were to Duck-lane sent, the Pastry-cooks to *Pye-street* ;
 The *dandies* went to *Strutton Ground*, which never is a bare street ;
 The *fruiterers*, of course, were sent to *Orchard-street* and *Pear-street*.
 Row, Row, &c.

Now *Wilson* who's a loyal man, his Country's cause he bled in,
 He said he would preserve the "Crown," so some one knocked his
 head in ;

On a shutter home they carried him, and into bed did stow him ;
 'Twas a brother Special struck him (*e*) in the dark, and didn't know him.

Row, Row, &c.,

Now while on duty marching round, as riot there was none of it,
Groves hit a quiet looker-on, a *drayman*, for the fun of it ;
 He warnt a big 'un either—but the mastery he got of us,
 And like another *Eversfield* he soon knocked down a lot of us. (*f*)

Row, Row, &c.

But a truce to jest, I would not make a serious matter laughable,
 Excuse the ditty I have sung if I've been rather chaffable ;
 Let Specials in a chorus join—when danger near is seen, Sir,
 Bring all their *staves* to form one song—that song, "God save the
 Queen," Sir,

Row, Row. Tho' we always shall be ready for a jolly good row !

At the enrolment of special constables in connection with the apprehended socialist disturbances in November, 1887, the men of 'our parish' were amongst the foremost to offer their services. They assembled, with some 2,000 other good citizens, at the parade ground of Wellington barracks, and marched thence to Trafalgar-square, where they supported the regular force, on Sunday, 20th November ; and they paraded at the barracks on the two following Sundays in readiness for action if necessary.

(*d*) Mr. Stamp was a baker by trade ; Overseer of St. John's, 1848-9 ; Thomas Baker was churchwarden 1828.

(*e*) Founded on fact.

(*f*) Mr. Thos. Eversfield was an auctioneer ; churchwarden of St. John's in 1847 and 1848.

We now turn to that part of our subject which the word 'patronage' at the head of the chapter is intended to signify—the support given by 'our Vestry' to candidates for election to Parliament.

The remarkably keen and active interest of the Vestry as politicians, and the value which candidates attached to their support, are as conspicuously shown in the records of their proceedings, as in those of their fathers and their elder brethren of St. Margaret's. From the constitution of 'our Vestry' to the first quarter of the present century, as each election approached, the candidates made a point of attending the meetings to solicit their support, as had been done in St. Margaret's parish since the Restoration, and their visit was either preceded or followed by a remittance of a round sum—sometimes £50, sometimes £100—to be disposed of as the Vestry might think fit, such sums being invariably carried to the parish account. And the reasons for so eagerly coveting and so keenly contesting the honour of representing Westminster in the great council of the nation are not far to seek. Outside the ancient metropolis, what city in the whole empire can compare with Westminster? The Parliament has sat there almost continuously from the time of Simon de Montfort; the laws of the country have been made there; it has been the residence of many of the sovereigns; they have been proclaimed in its famous hall; they have for 800 years been crowned in its more famous Abbey; many of England's kings, heroes, and poets lie there; it has been the last resting place of men who have changed the face of the world by their discoveries and inventions; and in its great Council Chambers have centred for five and twenty generations the sublimest energies of the greatest of England's sons,—energies of patriots who have made England's flag the symbol of the greatest secular agency for good now known to mankind—that flag which "represents everywhere peace and civilisation

and commerce, the negation of narrowness and the gospel of humanity.”

“Breathes there the man with soul so dead” as not to honour and revere such a city—a city so rich in historical associations? It were impossible to imagine a nation whose best sons would not covet the distinction of representing such a city in Parliament. And as the value of the prize has always been great, it is not astonishing that the competition has been correspondingly severe. The first election after the constitution of the parish, when Sir Thomas Crosse, our first churchwarden, was a candidate, with Mr. Lowndes, was attended with such disorder as to elicit a complaint to the High Bailiff, as the returning officer, of the indignities to which their supporters were subjected “on the day appointed by that officer to take the view in Tothill-fields.” As the complaint and the answer thereto give a lively representation of an election in Westminster a hundred and seventy years ago, they are reprinted almost *in extenso* :—

SIR,

It being apparent, that the Freedom of Electing two Members to serve for the City and Liberty of Westminster, in the ensuing Parliament, hath been, in a high degree, and (as we apprehend) in an unprecedented manner, violated by the many assaults committed against great numbers, as well as particular Persons, who have appeared in our Interests.

On Tuesday last, many of the House-keepers who rode with us through several parts of the Liberty, were annoyed with Stones, Dirt, or Filth, thrown by a vile sort of People, without the least Provocation, whereby many were deterred from going into the Field to be viewed by you: And after our Entrance into the Field, we were soon assaulted by such Persons armed with Clubs, and other offensive weapons, which caused many of the said House-keepers to go home before you made your View; and yourself knows very well, how many of our Number were bruised or hurt with Brick-bats, Stones, Clubs, and otherwise, wherewith the Rioters had provided themselves.

So that we cannot conceive an election, begun and carried on in this manner, can be considered as a Free or Due Election; and that we can not give Countenance to a Procedure tending to

deprive a great number of the House-keepers yet unpolled, of their free Voices. We take leave to send this, to let you know that we shall not appear any further at the place where you take the Poll, as Candidates, upon the Precept which you received from the Sheriff; but remain,

Sir,

23 March, 172½.

Your most Humble Servants,

THOMAS CROSSE.

WILLIAM LOWNDES.

The Case of Archibald Hutcheson and John Cotton, esquires, Members Return'd for the City of Westminster. In answer to the Petition against them by William Lowndes, esquire.

The Purport of the Petition is as followeth,

That on Tuesday, the 20th of March, 1721 (being the Day appointed by the High Bailiff to take the View in Tothill Fields) Sir Thomas Crosse and the Petitioner rode through several Parts of the City; and that, in their passage, they, and those with 'em, were annoyed with Stones, Dirt, and Filth, thrown by the mob; and that at their coming into Tothill Fields, they found the two Sitting Members, with their Company, on the Higher Ground*; and that they were there again assaulted by the Mob, in the same manner as they were in their Passage thro' the Streets; By which Means, several of those who would have voted for Sir Thomas Crosse, and the Petitioner, were discouraged from going to Tothill Fields, and afterwards to the Place of Polling.

ANSWER.—The Day appointed by the High Bailiff for the first Meeting of the Electors in Tothill Fields, was Tuesday the 20th of March, where the Sitting Members coming first into the Field, took the higher Ground (as in the Petition) according to the Old Proverb, *First come, first serv'd*, leaving four Times as much Ground for the other Candidates.

That the Sitting Members are entirely Strangers to what happened in the Streets as the Petitioner and Sir Thomas Crosse passed thro' the same; but are very sure, that as They pass'd along, they met with general Acclamations from the Spectators at the Windows and Doors in all the Streets thro' which they pass'd. And as to any Persons in the Field (with the Sitting Members) who had no Right to Vote, it was not in their Power to hinder it; and they believe, that many such were likewise in the Company of the Petitioner and Sir Thomas Crosse.

But as to the insults complained of, the same were begun first by the Horse-Guards, and others, that came into the Field with the Petitioner and Sir Thomas Crosse, who not contenting themselves with the ground left for them, assaulted and knocked down Forty, or more, that came with the Sitting Members, which might occasion some Disorder by Returns thereof in their own Defence.

But this being soon over the High Bailiff peaceably opened and read the Precept, and riding round the Fields, declared the majority for the

* 'The Hill' in Tothill-fields.

Sitting Members. Whereupon a Poll was demanded, and adjourned to next day to New Palace Yard ; but the Persons then coming last out of the Fields with the Sitting Members, were again assaulted, and beat by Persons accompanying the other Candidates. And thus ended Tuesday. . . .

Similar charges were brought forward of disorderly persons lying in wait to prevent those who came to vote for the petitioner and Sir T. Crosse, on the Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Monday. The reply is a *tu quoque* in each case. On the Wednesday "one of the Constables took from an officer of the Guards (who appeared for Sir T. Crosse and the petitioner) an iron bar, pointed like a cane, with which an unhappy spectator receiv'd a wound that struck out his eye ; however with this, the sitting members don't charge the other candidates." The paper concludes :—

N.B.—That there never was any Contested Election for the City of Westminster where there were not some Riots and Disorders ; and it is impossible in so Populous an Election, that it can be otherwise. . . . Indeed, when Riots and Tumults continue throughout a Whole Election, so as to prevent the carrying on of the Poll, it is a just Cause to make such Election void ; but nothing like that is pretended in the present Case.

That this was no new outburst of party spirit at such times, is shown by Macaulay in his sketch of the proceedings at the Westminster election in 1695 :—

As it was known that a new Parliament was likely to be called, a meeting was held at which it was resolved that a deputation should be sent with an invitation to two Commissioners of the Treasury, Charles Montague and Sir Stephen Fox. Sir Walter Clarges stood in the Tory interest. On the day of nomination near five thousand electors paraded the streets on horseback. They were divided into three bands, and at the head of each band rode one of the candidates. It was easy to estimate at a glance the comparative strength of the parties. For the cavalcade which followed Clarges was the least numerous of the three ; and it was well known that the followers of Montague would vote for Fox, and the followers of Fox for Montague. The business of the day was interrupted by loud clamours. The Whigs cried shame on the Jacobite candidate, who wished to make the English go to mass, eat frogs, and wear wooden shoes. The Tories hooted the two placemen who were raising great estates out of the plunder of the poor overburdened nation. From words the incensed factions

proceeded to blows ; and there was a riot which was with some difficulty quelled. The High Bailiff then walked round the three companies of horsemen, and pronounced on the view, that Montague and Fox were duly elected. A poll was demanded. The Tories exerted themselves strenuously. Neither money nor ink was spared. Clarges disbursed two thousand pounds in a few hours, a great outlay in times when the average estate of a member of parliament was not estimated at more than eight hundred a year. In the course of the night which followed the nomination, broadsides filled with invectives against the two courtly upstarts, who had raised themselves by knavery from poverty and obscurity to opulence and power, were scattered all over the capital. The Bishop of London canvassed openly against the Government ; for the interference of peers in elections had not yet been declared by the Commons to be a breach of privilege. But all was vain. Clarges was at the bottom of the poll without hope of rising. He withdrew ; and Montague was carried on the shoulders of an immense multitude from the hustings in Palace Yard to his office at Whitehall.

An extract from the same author's account of the election in 1698 is also given as illustrating the importance with which the representation of Westminster was regarded :—

It must be remembered that Westminster was then by far the greatest city in the island, except only the remaining City of London, and contained more than three times as large a population as Bristol or Norwich, which come next in size. The right of voting in Westminster was in the householders paying scot and lot ; and the householders paying scot and lot were many thousands. It is also to be observed that their political education was much further advanced than that of the great majority of the electors of the kingdom. . . . The citizen of Westminster passed his days in the vicinity of the palace, of the public offices, of the Houses of Parliament, of the courts of law. He was familiar with the faces and voices of ministers, senators, and judges. In anxious times he walked in the great Hall to pick up news.

. . . At that time, therefore, the Metropolitan electors were, as a class, decidedly superior in intelligence and knowledge to the provincial electors.

Montague and Secretary Vernon were the ministerial candidates for Westminster. They were opposed by Sir Henry Colt, a dull, surly, stubborn professor of patriotism, who tired everybody to death with his endless railing at standing armies and placemen. The electors were summoned to meet on an open space just out of the streets. The first Lord of the Treasury and the Secretary of State appeared at the head of three thousand horsemen. Colt's followers were almost all on foot. He was a favourite with the keepers of pot-houses, and had enlisted a strong body of porters and chairmen. The two parties, after exchanging a good deal of abuse, came to blows. The adherents of the ministers

were victorious, put the adverse mob to the rout, and cudgelled Colt himself into a muddy ditch. The poll was taken in Westminster Hall. From the first there was no doubt of the result. But Colt tried to prolong the contest by bringing up a voter an hour. When it became clear that this artifice was employed for the purpose of causing delay, the returning officer took on himself the responsibility of closing the books, and of declaring Montague and Vernon duly elected.

In quieter times the influence of the Vestry, which was very powerful, generally took a practical form in the calling of meetings in support of the chosen candidates and the enrolment of the inhabitants into committees pledged to support the candidates and to attend them to the hustings. The reader of the foregoing will scarcely need to be reminded that the expenditure of the candidates must have been very considerable; but he would be slow to credit, if it were not well authenticated, that Sir Francis Burdett's return, at one of his earlier elections, cost him no less than £80,000! But the glory has departed.

The elector of the present generation, 'protected' as he is by the Ballot Act and the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act, is only accustomed to see—

“The freeman casting, with unpurchased hand,
The vote that shakes the turrets of the land.”

O. W. HOLMES.

The City and Liberties of Westminster have been a Parliamentary Borough since 1547. A list of the representatives in Parliament from that date to 1847 is given in Walcott's *Memorials*. The Members returned since the constitution of 'our parish' have been as follows:—

1722. A. Hutchinson	J. Cotton
Lord Carpenter	C. Mahon
1728. Lord C. Cavendish	W. Clayton
1735-1741. Sir C. Wager *	Lord Sundon *
1747. Sir P. Warren *	E. Cornwallis
1754. E. Cornwallis *	Sir J. Crosse *
1761. E. Cornwallis *	Hon. E. Sandys
Viscount Pulteney *	Lord Warkworth *

* The Vestry accorded these candidates their support and assistance.

1768.	Hon. E. Sandys *	Sir P. Bernard
	Earl Percy *	
1774.	Lord T. P. Clinton *	Earl Percy *
	Viscount Petersham	Viscount Malden
1780.	Charles James Fox *	Sir G. B. Rodney
1784.	Charles James Fox *	Lord Hood *
	Lord Townsend *	
1790.	Charles James Fox	Lord Hood
1796-1802.	Charles James Fox	Sir A. Gardener
1806.	Sir S. Hood *	R. B. Sheridan
	Sir F. Burdett	
1807-1812.	Sir F. Burdett	Lord Cochrane
1818.	Sir F. Burdett	Hon. G. Lamb *
1820.	} Sir F. Burdett	J. C. Hobhouse
1826.		
1830.		
1831.		
1833.		
1835.	Sir F. Burdett	Col. De Lacy Evans
1857.	Col. De Lacy Evans	J. T. Leader
1841.	J. T. Leader	Hon. Captain H. C. Rous
1847.	Maj. Gen. Sir De Lacy Evans (L)	Charles Lushington (L)
1852.	} Maj. Gen. Sir De Lacy Evans (L)	Sir John V. Shelley, Bart. (L)
1857.		
1859.		
1865.	Hon. R. W. Grosvenor (L)	John Stuart Mill (L)
1868.	William Henry Smith (C)	Hon. R. W. Grosvenor (L)
1874.	William Henry Smith (C)	Sir C. Russell (C)
1877.	Rt. Hon. William Henry Smith (C)	
1880.	Rt. Hon. William Henry Smith (C)	Sir C. Russell (C)
1882.	Lord Algernon Percy (C)	
1885.	Rt. Hon. William Smith (C)	
1885.	<i>The two Parishes first constituted a Parliamentary Borough returning one Member.</i>	
	W. L. A. B. Burdett-Coutts (C)	
1886.	W. L. A. B. Burdett-Coutts (C)	
1892.	W. L. A. B. Burdett-Coutts (C)	

* The Vestry accorded these candidates their support and assistance.



CHAPTER · XV.

LOCAL INSTITUTIONS, PUBLIC BUILDINGS,
AND SCHOOLS.

"I pray you let us satisfy our eyes
With the memorials and the things of fame
That do renown this city."

TWELFTH NIGHT.

"'Tis the sublime of man,
Our noontide majesty, to know ourselves
Parts and proportions of one wondrous whole!
This fraternizes man, this constitutes
Our charities and bearings."

COLERIDGE.

The United Westminster Almshouses.—The Fish Market.—The Western Dispensary.—The Westminster Police Court.—The Free Public Library.—The Public Baths and Wash-houses.—St. Andrew's Home and Club for Working Boys.—St. John's Club.—Wesleyan Training College.—Grey Coat Hospital.—Blue Coat School.—Grosvenor Hospital for Women and Children.—The Military Hospitals.—Schools.—St. John's Infant School.—Educational Statistics.

MANY and admirable as the educational and helpful institutions of modern London are, there lingers in the locality of those hospitals and endowments of the past, concerning some of which we now furnish a few details, an air of sympathetic well-doing, the intention of which cannot be out-rivalled in the present day. Men of those times had perhaps neither the education nor the wealth of many men of these. All honour to them that they yet heard the cry of the children, relieved the distressed, solaced the sorrowful, strove to convey at least some of that knowledge which makes for purity as well as power. While we write, bells toll for the passing of the great poet to whom we of these latter days owe more than words. He has taught us to

love and live for other lives than ours. He has passed ; but his abiding words will yet inspire many a kindly deed, many a generous gift, many a hope for the outcast. May after institutions be even nobler than these we now recount ; founded, maintained and extended in accordance with Tennyson's teaching ;—he that is “ dear to man is dear to God.” Each who is thus dear has seen “ The Holy Cup of healing,” not for his own soul's health alone.

THE UNITED WESTMINSTER ALMSHOUSES.

The name of Emery Hill, the “ Man of Ross ” of Westminster, flows naturally from one's pen at the very head and front of this theme. To him these lines of Pope are singularly and enduringly appropriate—

“ Not to the skies in useless columns tost
Or in proud falls magnificently lost,
But clear and artless, pouring through the plain,
Health to the sick, and solace to the swain,
Whose causeway parts the vale with shady rows ?
Whose seats the weary traveller repose ?

Behold the market place with poor o'erspread !
The ‘ Man of Ross ’ divides the weekly bread.
He feeds yon alms-house, neat, but void of state
Where age and want sit smiling at the gate :
Him portion'd maids, apprentic'd orphans, blest
The young who labour, and the old who rest.

Oh say what sums that generous hand supply ?
What mines, to swell that boundless charity ?”

A more prosaic quotation, if more direct, taken from *Old and New London* (Vol. IV. p. 10), reads thus :—

“ On the north side of Rochester Row is a range of neat brick-built cottages known as Emery Hill's Almshouses. There is a grammar school attached to them. They were founded in 1708 to provide a home for six poor men and their wives, and for six widows, and also a school for boys.”

Since that paragraph appeared, the almshouses have been rebuilt and the educational portion merged with the

United Westminster Schools. The original tablet has been replaced, and its legend is still readable—

MR. EMERY HILL
late of the Parish of
ST. MARGARET, WESTMINSTER
founded these Almshouses
ANNO DOMINI, 1708,
CHRISTIAN READER
In hopes of thy Assistance.

The record of this kind-hearted, generous giver's beneficent acts teems with good things. He founded his Grammar School by deeds dated in 1674, and referring in a schedule to the almshouses.

The schedule provided that "the governors of the School should obtain a license from the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, for building six almshouses on the common in Tothill-fields for six poor old men, or six men and their wives, and six houses for poor old widows." Each of these persons must have been "honest housekeepers," and must own to sixty years of age. Each was to receive eight shillings per month, if single; man and wife, twelve shillings between them. Thirteen chaldron of coal were to be laid in yearly; gowns were to be supplied "not to exceed 10s. 6d. per yard," and £10 was set aside for two collations annually for the governors and their wives.

Now these collations meant, in Emery Hill's opinion, much more than a mere 'spread.' His will, for example, "directed the Governors of the Hospital of Green Coates in Tuttle Fields, to allow the Churchwardens . . . 20s. a yeare forever, to be spent in a Collation with the Treasurer and ancient Vestrymen, in June." These were bidden, "before dinner," to see that the gifts to the parish were "truly entered in a book" and "applied justly and according to the donor's intentions." "I know," quoth the good man, "for want of such a yearly inspection, there is a great neglect of good works, and many a pound lost to the parish for want of looking after gifts and wills."



Emery Hill's Almshouses, Rochester Row; erected 1708, demolished 1880-1.

From a water-colour drawing preserved in the British Museum.

In reference to another of his charities, that which left several tenements to the Governors of the King's Hospital, besides £100 to renew a college lease and for repairs, we read that £3 yearly was to be spent in a collation, "I earnestly desire . . . that for every shilling any treasurer shall exceed beyond what is allowed"—the £3 to wit—"hee shall pay ffive shillings to the use of the poore children . . . ffor as nothing keeps up Societies more than a friendly moderate Eating and Drinking doth, soe there is nothing destroies them . . . more than Moderate Expence and Charge." Good advice this, anyway. He bade the Governors of that Hospital allow "Ten Shillings a yeare for ever to some able minister of the parish" to examine the Boys "in their Learnings," etc.

Five chaldron of sea coals were to be laid in the King's Hospital every year. The "poore children" were to enjoy Roastmeate and Plum porridge every Christmas-day to put them in mind of that "extraordinary Good provided for their Soules on that Day"; green mittens every time they had new Clothes were allotted to the children, while the Schoolmaster might "have a new gowne every Two years." The boys were moreover provided with "Books fitt for their learning, especially with Catechises and Bibles;" the Bible becoming the boy's own property.

£100 "for an everlasting stock of sea coals" was left for the only use of such Poore that "hath neither stock nor storehouse." A store-house was built with £50, purposely bequeathed, on ground belonging to the Red Lion Almshouses. When these were demolished, the £100 was invested, and the interest distributed in coals at a fitting season. The Parochial Trustees now receive the interest and include the charity in their Consolidated Account.

Mr. Hill's Will not only expressed his desire for "shady rows," but stated that the Almshouses should have a courtyard "planted with good elme, and not with lime trees, for elmes is a better greene and more lastingly." That Will

gave £100 for the erection of three other Almshouses in Petty France, which also were to have elms planted before them. Their site—they were duly built in 1677—is now occupied by the Guards' Married Quarters in James-street. Beauty as well as utility exercised this good man's benevolence. He gave "ffifty pounds to make a faire and large causeway, at least 30 or 40 feet wide, and to plant it with good Elmes, not with lime trees, for they hold not green soe long nor soe good, and to secure them from Cattell."

This causeway, unhappily, "must be placed in the category of lost charities": together with £50 in trust for stock for poore tradesmen and women; "poore Shoemaker or Cobler"; some "poore Waterman to help him to a Boate"; some "poore Herbwoman," or some "that makes Buttons or that would cry Things"; together also with £10 for "poore Bedridden People"; and Ten pounds for "keeping upp the worke house *as* a Worke-house."

The "boundless charity" of this "generous hand" must be our apology, if such be needed, for this lengthy notice of Emery Hill's benefits. His virtues are set forth on a handsome white marble tablet in St. Margaret's Church. He fell on sleep in 1677. The following lines by Crabbe form the fittest finale to these remarks:—

His sixtieth year was pass'd, and there was seen
A building rising on the neighb'ring green :

Twelve rooms contiguous stood, and six were near,
There men were placed, and sober matrons here ;
There were behind small useful gardens made,
Benches before, and trees to give them shade.

His was a public bounty vast and grand,
'Twas not in him to work with viewless hand.

THE FISH MARKET.

The longevity of the latter-day Londoner is due no doubt to the prominence given to hygienic requirements; but it is doubtful whether the population generally are yet sufficiently

versed in the food question. Fish, for example, scarcely occupies the high standing which its wholesomeness and its abundance should give it. Ancestors of ours, not of very remote relationship, recognised the value of fish as food, and we may insert here a brief reference to a fish market, which, though not actually placed in St. John's parish, was near enough to benefit the parishioners.

By an Act of Parliament passed in the 22nd year of King George II., cap. 49, it was recited "that a free and open market for fish in the City of Westminster would greatly tend to increase the number of fishermen, and improve and encourage the fishery of the kingdom," and it was enacted that from and after the 24th June, 1749, there should be a free and open market held in the City of Westminster for all sorts of fish. Twenty-six trustees were appointed by the Act, and invested with full powers to erect, establish, and maintain the market, and generally to carry the new law into execution.

These trustees were invested with powers to levy tolls and duties payable by fishermen and others selling fish in the market, and were to apply the income so derived to "preparing a proper place for the market" and maintaining the same in repair. To secure any moneys borrowed by them, they were authorised to assign the said duties, and to deliver an annual account of receipts and expenditure to the justices of the peace in Westminster. It was also understood that any surplus remaining should be utilised "in binding out poor boys apprentices to fishermen or others employed in the sea-service. Fishermen who kept back fish at any port without selling their whole cargo within eight days, were ordered to forward both vessel and cargo to town." The Act empowered the Commissioners of Westminster-bridge to grant a piece of land near Cannon-row for the use of such intended market. After considerable delay this land passed into the hands of the trustees, who borrowed £400 on the mortgage of the tolls and dues

to "pay the charges attending the passing of the Act and to erect shops and stalls to encourage fishermen and others to resort there."

An account of the receipt of subscriptions for the purpose, issued by the trustees in October, 1750, shows a favourable balance of £900. Advances were made to fishermen for the building of cod and other vessels, as well as upon smelt nets. Interest at five per cent. per annum was payable on these advances, it being stipulated that, under penalties, all the fish should be brought to and sold at Westminster Fish Market, which was caught by the fishermen aboard the "light craft" in which the trustees had secured a financial interest.

The new market had to undergo opposition. "The salesmen and merchants of Billingsgate, if not also the Corporation, viewed the market with apprehension or jealousy, possibly both," and the trustees were beset with the hindrances of monopoly and combination.

Seeking Parliamentary protection they obtained a second Act. This asserted their rights, appointed an inspector, and authorised His Majesty's searcher at Gravesend to prevent designs or collusions between the masters of the boats arriving there, so that their journey to Westminster might be expedited. So far, so good; but, unhappily, from thenceforth, all the efforts of the trustees "to benefit the public and the fish trade speedily resolved themselves into failure." Nor have those efforts since found imitators. Indebted and disheartened, the trustees relinquished their scheme.

Conscientiously relieving themselves of all charges upon their estate, they were, in 1786, possessed of £3,200 in the three per cents. Their lease produced a fair yearly rental. A new difficulty beset them—that of discovering "what method they ought in propriety to pursue in the attainment of that object for which the funds were originally created"—more especially since neither Act had pre-sup-

posed failure. Their annual income in 1787 amounted to £301, with reference to the disposal of which our historian is dumb, for the 'deponent sayeth not.' It is worthy of notice that so late as February 3rd, 1802 (*Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXXII., Part I., page 166) Lord Glenbervie moved for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the Act of George II. for establishing a market for fish in the City of Westminster, so far as the same relates to the sale of eels.

THE WESTERN DISPENSARY.

This institution owes its origin to the sympathetic action of one Dr. John Sims and friends, who initiated it on April 8th, 1789, with the intention of affording advice and medicine to the sick poor of Westminster, and comfortable help for needy mothers at the birth of children. A house in Charles Street was taken, almost immediately; but comparatively little is known of the operations of the institution during its first forty years, as the first annual report did not appear until 1833. The area of operation extended to Chelsea-bridge, to St. James's-street, to Drury-lane and the Strand, over Waterloo-bridge and back to Westminster. It is now limited to the parishes of St. Margaret and St. John.

Patients were then, as now, required to attend personally except in cases of extreme illness, when the sick are visited by a medical man if they send their letters of recommendation by authorised hands before 10 a.m. A Midwifery Gratuitous Branch was established in 1822, and a Provident Branch in 1875. In this department, midwifery patients pay one shilling each on registration, and a fee of 15s. should a medical officer attend. A midwife's fee is five shillings, and, in either case, half the fee is paid by the Institution. The charges for Provident Membership vary from 2d. to 6d. per month. These amounts are lessened for families, and widows' children pay but one penny per month.

The existing method of management, formulated by the late Canon Conway, is found to work admirably. It consists of a representative and influential committee, six of whose members are medical men. These also constitute a medical committee, comprising Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B. (Treasurer in 1873), Drs. W. H. Allchin and Potter; Mr. Thomas Bond, F.R.C.S., Mr. W. Ashton Ellis, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., and Mr. F. J. Pearse, M.R.C.S. An anniversary dinner, recommended by the first report, is held on the 25th of May, the Centennial Festival which occurred in 1889 having been presided over by Mr. W. Burdett-Coutts, M.P.

The Marie Celeste Convalescent Branch originated in 1888, when a patient of Mr. George Fenton's handed him £400,—banked “in an old handkerchief,”—for charitable purposes in memory of his late wife, Mrs. Edward Kelly. The object of this branch is to provide Dispensary patients with the benefits of a Convalescent Home, the name of the branch being conferred by Mr. James Hora, who, in 1889, contributed £1000 on condition that the “Marie Celeste Convalescent Branch” should be always so designated.

H.R.H. the Prince of Wales succeeded the late King of the Belgians as Patron of the Dispensary in 1866, and the Baroness Burdett-Coutts became president in 1885, in succession to the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensbury, K.T. Founded in Charles-street in 1789, the Dispensary was removed in 1851 to New Tothill-street; in 1857 to York-street, and finally, to Rochester-row on freehold ground “secured through the kindness of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners,” the cost of the site and building, with incidental expenses, being about £7,000.

In connection with this institution is a well-organised system under which the sick-poor are nursed at their own homes by trained nurses, for whom a residence is maintained at a house in Bessborough-gardens. The management of this branch is entrusted to a representative committee

who receive towards their funds annual grants of £200 from the Trustees of the Parochial Charities, and £100 from the Governors of the Western Dispensary. A further reference to this valuable agency is made in Chapter XVI.

THE WESTMINSTER POLICE COURT.

The annals of the poor are perhaps more interesting than those of the Police, but, since the latter represent law and order, they are assuredly deserving a passing notice. Probably none of the public buildings in 'our parish' is more widely known than that which, under the above heading in our daily journals, furnishes its contribution to the criminal chronicles of the metropolis. Established under the Act of 32 Geo. III. cap. 53 (1792) as "The Queen's Square Police Office," it may now be said to have reached its centenary. Long before its removal to its present site in Rochester-row (1st January, 1846) the court had taken a prominent place among the others in the metropolis, owing to the distinguished positions occupied by two of its presiding magistrates, Henry James Pye, the Poet Laureate—a descendant of Sir Robert Pye—and Peter Colquhoun, LL.D., whose treatise on *The Police of the Metropolis* (1800), and other valuable publications on associated subjects, may be considered as having led up to to the formation of the present Police Force in 1839.

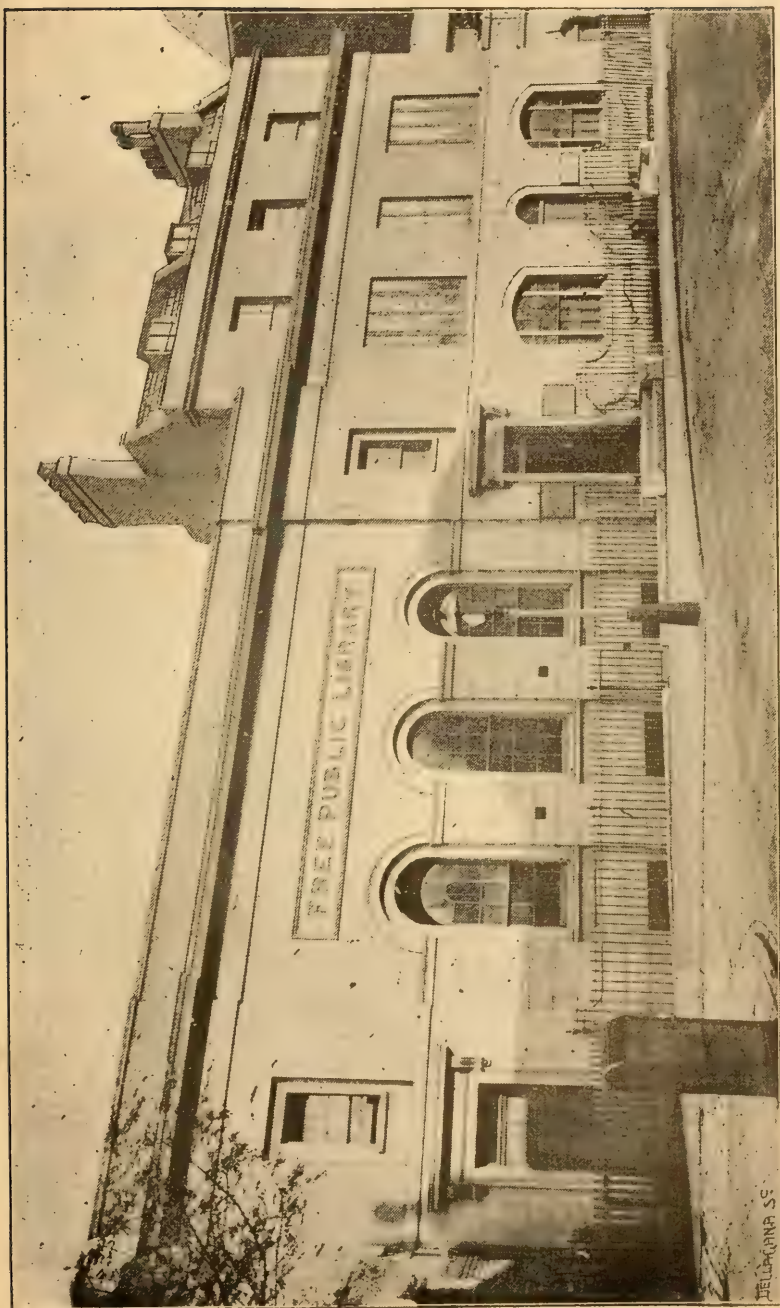
In the early years of its existence, the sittings of the Court were held twice daily, at eleven in the morning and seven in the evening. The 'occurrence book' employed there at the beginning of this century records frequent sittings without any prisoners in charge. The general average included about four "night charges," and comprised some half-dozen informations, now and again, relative to 'seditious words,' hair-powder, armorial bearings, 'regrating' potatoes or turnips, selling new bread or new muffins, and other minor offences with which the Court at the present time is not apt to be concerned. Although the evening sittings were usually occupied by a

few attestations of recruits, an occasional affidavit or recognisance, and matters of trivial sort, yet, at seasons of apprehended disorder, the magistrates underwent the felicity of remaining all night at their posts. On such a night, for example (September 20, 1800), the Court was guarded by a sergeant and ten privates of the Westminster Volunteers, Captain Griffin having been "relieved at ten o'clock by Captain Elliot."

The magisterial bench is surmounted by the Royal Arms, beautifully carved in oak. This decoration, originally placed in the Court of Queen's Bench, was claimed (on the removal of that institution to the Royal Courts of Justice in the Strand) on behalf of the Police Court, on the ground that it was the oldest court of jurisdiction surviving in Westminster.

THE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

This most useful establishment had attained the age of thirty years, when in 1887, the joyous year of Her Majesty's jubilee, the Commissioners issued a Report which contained "some account of the origin, progress and development" of the institution under their management. From that account we cull the following items. "The present premises of the Chief Library were formerly those of the Westminster Literary, Scientific, and Mechanics' Institution, which originated in 1840, from a desire for the formation in these parishes of an institution similar to that initiated in 1823, in Cripplegate, by Dr. George Birkbeck. The Westminster Institution began with a few working men, clerks, masters, and shopkeepers—some former members of the Birkbeck—having a view chiefly to the improvement of the working classes with which at that time Westminster was densely populated. It started with the co-operation of all classes, who contributed both money and books, in a house in Little Smith-street, and a lecture room in Vincent-square. A small library with reading and class rooms followed, to



The Free Public Library, Great Smith-street.

From a photograph.

the pleasure and service of those for whom it was intended. Appreciation led to extension. The premises, found inconvenient, were abandoned in favour of a double house on the east side of Great Smith-street (now Nos. 23 and 25), with a piece of vacant ground on which was erected a large lecture theatre with class rooms beneath.

An article in *The Mirror* of August 22nd, 1840, supplies further details, describing the institution as "one of those valuable associations for the cultivation of the mind, which have within these few years opened up an entirely new channel for the rational occupation of the brief moments of leisure allotted to the middle and labouring classes, and for the development of their noblest faculties. The committee at that time had been enabled to form a library of upwards of 3000 volumes, comprising a selection of the best works in history, ethics, general literature and science, and reading and news-rooms supplied with newspapers and periodicals had been open daily from 10 till 10."

The building, which was designed and superintended gratuitously by Mr. William R. Gritten, a local architect, had its foundation stone laid on 31st July, 1840, amid enthusiasm, by the Rev. Henry Hart Milman, the then Rector of St. Margaret's. In his speech at that function Canon Milman struck the key-note of the *raison d'être* of the institution when he said—"To advance the intellectual is one very great subsidiary towards promoting the moral elevation of human beings," and looking once again at the Commissioners' Report we read, "At this period an Act of Parliament was passed, intituled 'An Act for further promoting the establishment of Free Public Libraries and 'Museums, and for extending them to Towns and Parishes 'under the Local Improvement Act, 30th July, 1855.' This Act originated with Mr. William Ewart, M.P. for Dumfries Burghs, and was adopted by the Parishes of St. Margaret and St. John on the 19th of May, 1856."

This quotation reminds us of another—"The old order changeth, giving place to new." Prosperous as the Literary, Scientific and Mechanics' Institution appears to have been, it was found necessary to close its doors in consequence of a diminution of voluntary services and of the number of members, followed by financial embarrassment.

That Westminster, with its wonted habit of progression should adopt the new Libraries Act, was not surprising; that adoption was a suitable sequel to the effort described above.

We endorse a remark made in *Notes and Queries*, March 14, 1857: "Dear old Westminster, by which we mean Westminster proper, the united parishes of St. Margaret's and St. John's, where Caxton set up the first printing press erected in England, has signalised itself by being the first of the Metropolitan districts to establish a Free Library."

At a public meeting of the ratepayers of the parishes of St. Margaret and St. John, held on Monday, May 19, 1856, at the Westminster Mechanics' Institution, Sir Wm. Page Wood, Kt., occupied the chair, and was supported by the Rev. John Jennings, M.A., Charles Hindley, Esq., M.P., Wm. Whateley, Esq., Q.C., Joseph Carter Wood, Esq., John Lettsom Elliott, Esq., H. J. Maude, Esq., and Fredk. Thynne, Esq. There were present seventy-eight others. A resolution to the effect "That the Public Libraries Act, 1855, ought to be adopted for these parishes," was carried by 81 votes to 3. This having been reported to the United Vestry, that body appointed nine commissioners for carrying the Public Libraries Act, 1855, into execution, viz.: Septimus Holmes Godson, Esq., Mr. James Bigg, Rev. John Jennings, Sir Wm. Page Wood, Mr. James Foster Shedlock, Mr. John Hunt, Mr. Samuel Hughes, Mr. John Norris, and Mr. David Mallock. On July 5, 1856, the Vestry considered and approved the first estimate of the expenses of carrying the Act into execution in the united

parishes for the ensuing year, amounting to £1,000. The records of the Mechanics' Institute form a basis for the history of the Free Public Library; the utility and success of the latter has amply fulfilled the expectations of its projectors.

The library rate is limited to one penny in the pound; but the Commissioners point to the fact that this Library "has not in any year exceeded one half-penny." Yet they have purchased the lease of the premises, furniture, and books of the Mechanics' Institution, and express their desire to "meet in a reasonable manner, any suggestions as to books or the utility and popularity of the library." They also endeavour to obtain books not within general reach, while they are gradually forming at the Chief Library, a valuable collection of books for reference only.

During the last four years the development of the scheme for the New Church House has necessitated further structural changes, advantageous to the parishioners, for an account of which we may refer our readers to our story of the Baths and Wash-houses.

THE BATHS AND WASH-HOUSES.

"The head patentee
Of associate cleaners—chief founder and prime
Of the firm for the wholesome distilling of grime—
Co-partners and dealers in linen's propriety—
That make washing public—and wash in society—
O lend me your ear."

HOOD.

Personal cleanliness and intellectual progress should of a surety travel together. There is, moreover, an inseparable connection linking the Free Library with the Baths and Wash-houses since the Vestry minutes contain the accompanying note:—"Acting under the authority conferred upon them by the Vestry on 24th October last (1888) the Committee have conferred with the Commissioners of the Free Public Library and the Commissioners of the Public Baths and Wash-houses, sitting together, upon the question

of improving the existing establishments, or erecting new buildings." But perhaps the courteous reader will 'hark back' with us for a space.

As early as November 4, 1846, a letter from Mr. Cotton, Chairman of the Committee for Promoting the Establishment of Baths and Wash-houses, was read at a Vestry meeting, but the adoption of active measures in support of that Committee was suspended owing to an informality in convening the meeting. That the authorities meant business is shown by the minutes of January 8, 1847, when the Vestry "met for the special purpose of determining whether the Act to encourage the establishment of Public Baths and Wash-houses shall be adopted. The question was carried in the affirmative by 20 votes to 6."

The matter was not, however, put into going order until 24th February, 1849, on which date the Vestry appointed seven ratepayers to carry the Act into execution without further delay. The seven gentlemen selected were the Hon. J. Chetwynd Talbot, the Rev. John Jennings, M.A., Messrs. George Wilson, C. W. Short, James Hunt, William Burridge, and William Hawes. Without troubling our readers with preliminary and financial details, we will advance at one stride to March 6th, 1851, on which date the Commissioners reported the purchase of freehold ground and premises in St. Ann's-street (£2,609); freehold house and premises in Great Smith-street (£198); and leasehold interest therein previously purchased (£500). The total cost of the site thus amounted to £3,307.

To return to the date which we first mentioned—24th October, 1888; we find then that the commissioners of the Public Library and the Commissioners of the Public Baths and Wash-houses had agreed to recommend the advisability of erecting a new Library and Baths and Wash-houses on adjoining sites in consistency with plans prepared by Mr. F. J. Smith, F.R.I.B.A., and approved of by the two Commissions.

The removal of the Library had become imperative by the requirements of the Church House Committee, who had given notice of their desire to terminate its present short lease and occupy the premises. After an active enquiry for available sites, that adjacent to the Public Baths and Wash-houses, was selected as the most appropriate.

The area thus acquired for the purposes of the Library is 5,090 square feet, and, in addition, 600 square feet which it is proposed to throw into the roadway, and thus initiate a public improvement which has been long sadly needed, in consequence of the narrowness and dangerous bend in the roadway. The Public Baths, which have erroneously been credited with having been the first erected under the act of 1847, had become dilapidated and altogether unfit for the present requirements of the inhabitants. These are now being entirely re-modelled and supplied with the most approved appliances. The additional area is 3,310 feet, permitting of a first-class swimming bath 132 feet long and 31 feet wide, and a second-class one 62 feet long and 32 feet wide, each provided with dressing boxes and other accommodation. Slipper baths for women and for men, both first and second-class are also arranged, and in fact everything that could increase the utility and comfort of the establishment. The Laundry department has accommodation for 92 washers, with a drying-closet for each.

The two buildings, though conjoined, are perfectly distinct, there being no communication between them. Board-room accommodation, together with apartments for librarian, superintendent and caretaker, is provided. The outlay sanctioned by the Vestry for the new Public Library and Public Baths and Wash-houses is £32,000, apportioned "to the extent of £12,000 as regards the Library, and £20,000 as regards the Baths and Wash-houses."

Although Westminster was the first parish to erect baths, etc., after the passing of the Act, it did not actually take the lead, since *The Times* for January 3rd, 1851, con-

tains the returns for Whitechapel, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and St. Marylebone. It is also interesting, as compared with present historic statistics, to note that in returns published in July, 1851, for *eighteen months*, in respect of the above-named baths, the figures for St. Margaret's and St. John's are given as for *seven weeks*, during which period the receipts had been £10 for washing, and £301 6s. 1d. for bathing. The number of persons using the laundry was 916 ; the number of bathers, in the seven weeks of that summer, having been 2,879.

ST. ANDREW'S HOME AND CLUB FOR WORKING BOYS.

Homeless but for the shelter of a shed ; bedless but for a sack ; friendless but for a little dog with a big, faithful heart,—such was the first inmate of St. Andrew's Home. Some student architects working as a lay brotherhood among the poor, caught sight of this waif. Their compassion led to the opening of this Home (1866) in Market-street, Soho, being aided and abetted in their labour of love by the Confraternity of St. Edward the Confessor and the Rev. J. C. Chambers, Vicar of St. Mary's, Crown-street, Soho. Many applicants pleaded for admission, and in 1868, the management was undertaken by a Committee with Earl Beauchamp as president, and a resident superintendent and housekeeper placed in charge. At Christmas, 1869, 23 boys were "at home" in St. Andrew's. Two years later, a public meeting held at the House of Charity, in Soho, resulted in removal to more suitable premises, at 71, Dean-street, Soho, where 40 beds were available. The renewal of the lease, here, proving impracticable, the committee started a Building Fund in 1881, to aid which the hon. secretary wrote a short account of the Home ; a history to which we are now indebted. Success crowned these efforts. Mrs. Nathaniel Montefiore offered a vacant site in Great Peter-street, the Dean of Westminster collected £5,072 2s. 6d., other donations—some by the boys them-

selves—were collected, and on the 5th of July, 1884, the Earl of Selborne, the present president (then Lord Chancellor) laid the foundation stone of St. Andrew's Home where it now stands. The Dean of Westminster proclaimed it "opened free of debt," on July 1, 1885, the total cost having been £6,960 15s. 1d.

The first intention of this institution is to "provide board and lodging for homeless work-lads, of good character, between 12 and 18, who are engaged in shops, warehouses, &c., and earn on an average a little over 5s. a week." For these it is indeed a "home." Provided for, protected from temptation, instructed in education and religion, one may see, at the annual gathering of new boys and old on St. Andrew's day, every sign of successful working. The Home also provides an evening club for boys living near, at an entrance fee of 1s., and a weekly fee of 2d. Club members may attend classes and use the library, reading, recreation rooms, and gymnasium, &c. "Home" boys must be orphans, or far away from parents; they must contribute, according to their earnings, to mutual support; a savings bank makes provision for their clothing; but supplementary subscriptions are naturally found necessary. Outdoor and indoor recreations are arranged, and technical classes supplement 'book learning.' Nothing is omitted which can benefit the lads either socially or morally. The Club numbers 100 boys, and the fact that "Old Boys" are making their way in all departments of life, and are given to visit the 'old home,' is a proof that St. Andrew's Home and Club is a happy and most serviceable institution.

ST. JOHN'S CLUB.

The genesis of a club is never devoid of interest. Among the parochial institutions which have long since disappeared was one to whose existence, in connection with St. John's Club, reference is essential. That institution, styled the 'Walking

Brief,' consisted of small parties of prominent parishioners who undertook to assist the churchwardens in the discharge of duties laid upon them by the "briefs," or licenses, for collecting funds from house to house, whether for the repair of churches or making good damage occasioned by fire. Thus we find the inhabitants at one time bidden by these 'briefs' to participate, by contributions, in the re-construction of the church-tower of a remote village in Gloucestershire, and, on another occasion, to afford financial aid to sufferers by fire at Bideford, in Devonshire. These 'briefs' were not infrequently based upon petitions forwarded from hamlets and towns in other equally distant counties. It will be readily understood that this quaint system lent itself to abuses. These were dealt with and suppressed by the Act of 4 Annæ, cap. 14 (1706), which imposed a penalty of £500 should the briefs be 'farmed' or purchased, and also rendered the churchwardens liable to punishment for neglect in the performance of their duties. Happily no record of either conviction or penalty has come before us.

It is, at all events, pleasing to learn that the 'briefs' wrought good work now and again, and that in cases of exceptional merit, as much as £200 were collected, though, in some instances, the subscriptions received scarcely covered the cost incurred in obtaining them. These expenses were generally charged to the parish account, and really represented the bill for the 'little dinner' which usually terminated the labour of four or five days, the number of labourers increasing towards the end of the work. The 'old order' changed, so far as the briefs were concerned, and their method of fund-finding became unnecessary, but the inherent inclination to social enjoyment around a well-spread board did not, as did the briefs, fall into disuetude.

The 'worshipful of the parish' having discontinued the former fashion of 'collecting,' they adopted a plan of meeting

together, socially, twice or thrice a year, the plan resulting after many meetings, in the institution of St. John's Club (July, 1840). Membership originally restricted itself to the forty-four gentlemen who at that period constituted the Vestry, but, for a long time past, non-vestrymen have been permitted to participate in the pleasurable meetings which, in January, May, and October, are held at the Grosvenor Hotel. The construction of Westminster-bridge, and the arrangement of its approaches caused the demolition of the trysting-place of earlier days.

The members of the Club, thus duly constituted, defray, by subscription, the expenses of these unpretentious yet convivial gatherings. Archdeacon Jennings, himself the oldest member of the Club and associated with it for upwards of forty-years, has been succeeded by Dr. John Hunt, "as Father of the Club." The secretaryship, during nearly twenty years, has been filled by Mr. James Margrie, successor to the late Mr. Ridley.

"Yet there's a good that flows from scenes like these—

Man meets with man at leisure and at ease ;

We to our neighbours and our equals come,

And rub off pride that man contracts at home.

There you may call in aid the moderate glass,

But let it slowly and unprompted pass ;

So shall there all things for the end unite,

And give that hour of rational delight."

CRABBE.

THE WESLEYAN TRAINING COLLEGE.

"Alma Mater"—the very words, the tone that runs through the expression of them while the speaker reflects upon all they mean to him, possess a real and sympathetic significance. No wonder that, under the head line "Alma Mater," and under a print of the Westminster Training College, the editor of *The Westminsterian* (Vol. I., No. 1) should write, "Amongst the different institutions for the training of elementary school teachers in this country, Westminster occupies a position in the front rank . . .

it is one of the largest of Metropolitan Training Colleges, and provides ample accommodation for the 120 students who annually take up their residence here. In regard to its educational work also, Westminster compares favourably with other colleges, while for imparting a sound and efficient knowledge of the theory and practice of education, it stands second to none." The same editor also considers that "for rapid and all-round improvement during the two years' training, Westminster stands pre-eminent." Thus the college commands respect as well as affection. For these notes concerning the establishment and working of this college, we are indebted to *The Ecclesiastical Principles and Polity of the Wesleyan Methodists*, by William Pearce (1868), and the 13th Annual Report of the Wesleyan Committee of Education (1852), which ably and fully record the progress of Wesleyan education. These works inform us that the Wesleyan Normal Institution in the Horseferry-road originated with a resolution of the Wesleyan Education Committee in 1843, whereby the president was authorised to nominate a select committee of ministers and gentlemen of the connexion, to bring the whole subject of education under full and careful consideration. The select committee met in November, 1843, and passed a series of resolutions calling upon the Wesleyan community to proceed immediately to a fuller and more practical recognition of its responsibility in the matter, and to adopt early and vigorous measures for the establishment and maintenance of Wesleyan juvenile and infant week-day schools. A "Wesleyan education general fund" was established in order to raise a sum (£200,000) to cover the contemplated expenditure during the then ensuing seven years.

A resolution directly authorising the appropriation of funds for the establishment of a Wesleyan Training Institution in London, was passed in the autumn of 1846, and early in 1847, the Committee was enabled to report the

acquisition of "a very eligible site in Westminster for a Wesleyan Normal Institute." In 1851 the schools were partially opened, but 1852 saw their completion, and also witnessed, in that completion, an "auspicious commencement in the training of students." The interest in the movement of 'generous-hearted friends,' could hardly be more decidedly proved than by the fact that within two years (1854) the entire expenditure had been defrayed 'by free-will offerings.'

The enterprise entirely exceeding the expectations of its promoters, an enlargement was found necessary and effected (1858-9). The erection of a chapel in the vicinity of the schools formed a very natural desire which gained expression as early as 1856. In 1863 that desire grew too strong to be further withstood, and in 1867 a convenient site was decided upon and obtained. The Committee had in view the provision and training of masters and mistresses, the provision also of books, apparatus, and furniture, an "efficient place of inspection," as also a systematic correspondence of other Wesleyan schools. The Westminster Training College of 1892 for masters is, very naturally, far in advance of the original establishment, since it has kept pace with the advancing requirements of the present day.

We cannot leave this important educational centre without mentioning some of the men of worth connected formerly, and now, with the institution, or without a passing reference to a few of its collateral efforts. Of these we may select athletics, football, cricket, and a helpful mission band. Of the former, the present principal, the Rev. James H. Rigg, D.D., deserves right honourable mention; nor should the earliest principal, the Rev. John Scott, be forgotten. Not the least popular among vice-principals is Mr. Charles Mansford, who, joining the Training College in 1852 as a student, has graduated successively and successfully from the mathematical tutorship to his present position.

THE GREY COAT HOSPITAL.

A paper of extreme interest appeared in the *Journal of Education* for September 1st, 1885, headed "An Old Westminster Endowment." To this evident labour of love on the part of Miss Day, the head-mistress of the Grey Coat Hospital—the endowment referred to—we are permitted to allude. Another source of information, *Old and New London* (Vol. IV., p. II) supplies the following data—"At the east end of Rochester-row is the Grey Coat Hospital, so named from the colour of the clothing worn by its inmates. It was founded in 1698 for the education of 70 poor boys and 40 poor girls. It presents a considerable frontage towards Grey Coat-place from which it is separated by a large court yard. It is composed of a central building ornamented with a clock, turret and bell, above the royal arms of Queen Anne, with the motto 'Semper Eadem' flanked by a figure on either side, dressed in the former costume of the children. The south side, which looks out upon an open garden and spacious detached playgrounds (the whole surrounded by an extensive wall) contains the school-rooms. Above is a wainscoted dining-hall, used also for the private prayers of the inmates. The dormitories occupy the whole attic storey. In the board room—a noble, panelled apartment—are portraits of the royal foundress, Queen Anne; Dr. Compton, Bishop of London; Dr. Smalridge, Bishop of Bristol; and those of the former governors." Miss Day's faithful description is as complete, but far more charming. "Within five minutes' walk of the Abbey, in a large garden and playground, stands an Elizabethan house, known as 'The Royal Foundation of Queen Anne, of the Grey Coat Hospital, in Tothill Fields, Westminster.' An old red house, covered at the back with grape vines and Virginia creeper; a garden bright in summer with old-fashioned flowers; a broad oak staircase, a quaint hall, and still quainter board-room, furnished as it was in 1702, take visitors greatly by surprise. They admire

the sobriety of its precincts, and imagine themselves far from London. The stillness, however, is not unbroken, for more than 300 girls work and play there every day." The intention of the charity school originally erected here was "for the education of poor children in the principles of the Christian religion, teaching to read, and instructing them in the Church Catechism and discipline of the Church of England as by law established, and for teaching to read and cast accounts, and (when fit) binding them apprentices to honest trades and employments." The present school-house was first occupied in 1706, when Queen Anne, under letters patent, constituted the trustees "a body politick and corporate, of her royal foundation."

The 67 boys maintained here wore a long grey skirt and leather girdle ; the 33 girls, a dress of grey, open in front and corded. By Queen Anne's patent the governors were permitted to purchase lands to the yearly value of £2,000, and to grant leases for terms of 41 years. An enquiry made by John Dawson, Esq., commissioner in 1818, showed that the estates consisted of freehold and leasehold property at Westminster and Caldecott Hall Farm, in Suffolk, held of Magdalen College, Oxford. In 1815, a fine of £1,097 8s. was paid in respect of the latter leasehold, which has now expired, the property having reverted to Magdalen College. In 1739, a mathematical school was added, and a master to teach navigation appointed, some of his scholars being bound to the sea service. Children were appointed in rotation by the governors, the nomination of ten scholars being reserved for the Dean and Chapter.

There used to be an examination every Sunday evening, open to the public, and much frequented. Hatton's *New View of London* (1708) calls attention to the many contributors to 'this pious undertaking.'

We now invite our readers to turn to Miss Day's carefully-compiled chronicle for an account of the actual origin of the Hospital. "Although now a Second Grade school,

the origin . . . was humble." Comparing the advantages and disadvantages of the "Boarding-out System," the Head-Mistress tells us that, in 1698, Westminster citizens were more impressed with the latter. "The parish authorities boarded the destitute children of the city with uneducated and often disreputable women" styled nurses. The children had no day-schools, and eighteenpence a week not satisfying these 'nurses,' they "trained the children to be professional beggars."

The miseries of these children were considered seriously by several of the inhabitants of the parish of St. Margaret, who convened a meeting, at which this institution was initiated. Thus the Hospital is the outcome of the good-heartedness of the parishioners themselves. Forty of the greatest objects of charity they could find were to be educated and apprenticed as we have already read. Mr. Thomas Ashenden, himself a benefactor to the Hospital, was the first master, at a salary of £26 per year. A house in the Broad Sanctuary was taken, and an annual sermon and offertory promised by Dr. Onley, the then rector of St. Margaret's. "A uniform," says Miss Day, "was provided for the boys, which remained unaltered till 1874. It closely resembled that of Christ's Hospital, grey taking the place of blue and yellow. The boys had small caps, which were somewhat of a cross between a priest's biretta and a modern Tam o' Shanter." Miss Day also describes the curriculum, and gives a list of the books, which seem to have consisted of nineteen in all.

Cleanliness, morality and religion were the basis of instruction. The school opened on January 9th, 1698. The Trustees met every Tuesday evening; each was fined 2d. for non-attendance; each undertook to examine five boys from time to time. The fines were paid, but the boys were not always examined.

"When the Endowed Schools Commission began its re-organizing work in this district, one of its earliest

decisions was to separate entirely the schools for boys and girls. Emanuel Hospital, the Green Coat, the Black Coat, and the Emery Hill Schools were assigned to the boys; the Grey Coat entirely to the girls. All the accidents of school life and management are changed. Grey Coats in name only, the girls now dress as they like. We can imagine how perplexed the first Grey Coat Governors would be if they heard the present Board's discussions as to curriculum, University Local examinations, qualifications for mistresses, and perhaps, most of all, salaries. But, with all these changes in things non-essential, in heart and aim the Board and Staff at this present time are one with their fore-runners. Still, the Endowed School Scheme bids them educate their girls in the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and it is their joy to try to do so."

Few institutions are so fortunate in the possession of an interesting history charmingly written; and it is with reluctance we leave it.

THE BLUE COAT SCHOOL.

One would much like know the why and wherefore of *The Grand Khaibar Charity*. Its title is almost as fascinating as its intention, but research relative to its initiation is without avail. Its antiquity is great. Its purpose was "the education of twenty children, generally considered to be of rather a superior class to the 'Blew boys,'" mention of whom brings us to consider the Blue Coat School, which was founded about a quarter of a century after the restoration, by voluntary subscription, for boys only. It is in fact claimed to be the first metropolitan school so founded. It is supposed that Dr. Thomas Jekyll, of Broadway Chapel (died 1698), gave this school a local habitation and a name. He, at all events, claimed the honour of its institution, and wrote an exposition of the Church Catechism for its use. History has it that the school was founded in Duck-lane, and assigns 1688 as the period. In the year 1709 Mr. Wm. Greene, of the Stag

Brewery, Pimlico, built a school on ground leased from the Dean and Chapter. One may see the building in Caxton-street to-day. A master's house was erected in the same year by means of the parishioners' contributions. When, in 1727, Mr. Greene "assigned the lease to trustees to suffer the school" he defined its aim as being for "educating and instructing poor children in the principles of the Established Church." Its income from funded property amounted, according to the first report of the Commissioners on the Education of the Poor, to £199. This property consisted of £4,500 in old South Sea Annuities, and £600 in four per cent. stock, bequeathed by Mr. Buckeridge Ball Ackworth. The gross income was estimated at about £400. An extension of its benefits was made in March, 1713-14, when the governors of the charity included twenty girls in its beneficent purpose.

Instruction in the catechism was supplemented by the introduction of psalmody, and the girls found themselves encouraged to acquire the helpful mysteries of "knitting, needlework, and housework." The Blue Coat School indicates a costume of that colour for the scholars, and in a recess over the entrance of the present school-house may still be descried the figure of a boy in the school dress of the period, which is very readily ascertained by reference to a stone tablet let in the wall, and bearing the words "This is the Blew Coat School, 1709." Sir Christopher Wren has the credit of designing and supervising the erection of the edifice, which was planned to accommodate 195 boys.

Mr. James A. Sarsons, who for 40 years has occupied the position of resident master, has, at the time of writing, only sixty boys under his charge. Twenty of these are clothed out of the funds. *The Grand Khaibar Charity* ceased in 1847, when its little balance in hand was transferred to the general account; and the present income of the Blue Coat school, from subscriptions and other sources, is valued at £450. The numerical decadence of the school is attributed

to the fact that not being in receipt of a government grant, and therefore less able to compete with those schools which have adopted 'free education' under the recent Act, the school is gradually being forsaken by all but the 'clothed boys.' The powers of the Charity Commissioners to deal with this school are doubtful, since it is not possessed of any "endowment" strictly so-called. Rumours are current, however, at the time of writing, relative to the disposal of the site to another body of school managers. It is well therefore to place the facts on record that the Blue Coat School was not only originally founded in St. John's parish, and was conducted in that parish during the first twenty years of its existence, but also that its benefits are still enjoyed by the parishioners.

Proof of its parochial character may be found in the annals of the church itself, seeing that a century ago seats were specially appropriated there for the use of the "boys in Blew."

THE GROSVENOR HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

Established originally as a Dispensary in 1865 this institution then occupied but one room in the neighbourhood, and was known as the Vincent-square Hospital, its management being conducted by a few gentlemen under the presidency of the late Right Hon. (then Mr.) G. A. Hamilton. The urgent necessity of beds for the benefit of the worst cases immediately made itself felt. This want, becoming known, soon also became remedied; friends supplied funds sufficient to furnish and permit the occupancy of a corner house, No. 29, in Vincent-square; thus supplying six beds (1870) for the reception of in-patients. The adjoining house was appropriated five years afterwards, and, communication being opened from house to house, six other beds were added. In 1890 the next house was also occupied, by which means six further beds were made available, besides

other accommodation very greatly needed, chiefly in connection with the out-patient department. Children suffering from any description of disease which is not infectious or contagious, are treated as out-patients, while the hospital administers to women enduring diseases peculiar to the sex, as both in-patients and out-patients, the latter of whom are seen daily. The present secretary is the Hon. F. C. Howard, whose courtesy has assisted us to provide these notes. He informs us that, in 1884, this institution, under the style of the Grosvenor Hospital for Women and Children, underwent entire re-constitution. For some years the late Earl of Shaftesbury occupied the position of president, which was afterwards ably filled by the late Right Hon. W. H. Smith, M.P., at whose death Viscount Cross, K.C.B., undertook the kindly duty. On the resignation of Sydney, Duchess of Manchester, as lady-president, that post was accepted by one with whose name that of Westminster must always be associated, the Baroness Burdett-Coutts.

“Some there are
By their good works exalted, lofty minds
And meditative, authors of delight
And happiness, which to the end of time
Will live, and spread, and kindle.”

WORDSWORTH.

THE MILITARY HOSPITALS.

If the nomenclator should ever conceive evil designs concerning Rochester-row, he might appropriately substitute “Institution-row” for its present name. Going from east to west we first pass the Grey Coat Hospital, then the Western Dispensary and the United Westminster Almshouses, facing the numerous institutions connected with St. Stephen’s Church, then the Police Court, nearly adjoining which is the hospital of the Coldstream Guards, and almost opposite, a similar establishment for the Grenadier Guards, while the hospital for the Scots Fusiliers Guards is but a few paces distant in the Vauxhall-bridge-road. Like the Grey Coat Hospital and the Almshouses, these three military hospitals were founded when there was a broad expanse of open

country on nearly all sides. They were originally established by the officers of the respective regiments, for the treatment of the sick among the men under their command, and they were maintained by the officers and the regimental 'stock-purse' until eleven years ago. In 1881 they were transferred to the Army Medical Department, by which the respective regiments became relieved of the responsibilities of management.

The officers of the Grenadiers were in possession of a house held on lease from the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and adapted to the purposes of a hospital, in 1801. This house was demolished in 1859, shortly after which the present building at the corner of Buckingham-cottages and backing on to Cobourg-row, was erected. In 1867 the freehold was purchased by the field officers and captains. The hospital, which has accommodation for nearly a hundred patients, is known as the No. 1 Station Hospital.

The establishment for the medical treatment of the sick men of the Coldstream Guards, facing Vincent-square, and backing on to Rochester-row, at the corner of Walcott-street, contains 53 beds, and was first established in 1814. A lease for seven years was then granted by Mr. Mann to Col. the Hon. Henry Brand. This lease was renewed in 1823 for 21 years, the lessees being Col. Sir Alexander Woodford, Col. Sir Henry Bouverie, and Col. Macdonell. A further renewal was obtained in 1844 for 14 years. In 1855 an addition was made to the premises on the south-east side. In 1858 a lease of the two blocks of building was taken for 40 years by Colonels the Hon. George Upton, Lord Frederick Paulet and William Newton, when nearly £4000 were expended upon the re-building of the greater part of the hospital. Since the transfer to the War Department the institution has been designated the 'B Station Hospital.'

The sick men of the Scots Fusiliers are provided for in the building in the Vauxhall-bridge-road, opposite Edward-street, and abutting in the rear on Lillington-street. Beds are available for 83 patients.

SCHOOLS.

The National School, as an institution, not having come into existence for more than a century after the formation of 'our parish,' and the 'government grant' being unknown until 1833,* such educational provision as was made depended either upon individual munificence or collective subscriptions. In this respect the poorer parishioners of St. John's were exceptionally fortunate, for at the time the parish was formed there were already two schools—the Blue Coat, established in Duck-lane in 1688, and the Grey Coat, founded at the north-east end of Rochester-row in 1698—in readiness to receive their children, not to speak of the Green Coat School, founded in 1633; the Black Coat School, commenced in 1656; and the Almery School, established in 1666, within the boundaries of St. Margaret's parish.

On 20th January, 1812, an application was made to the Vestry by the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, for a subscription. A Committee was thereupon appointed to wait upon the secretary, and a report was shortly afterwards made, recommending that a subscription be set on foot in the parish, on the understanding that the Society would establish a school therein; but the recommendation was disagreed with on account, as the record has it, of the poverty of the parish and of the sufficiency of the then existing school accommodation.

Nothing further was heard of the proposal until the Rev. J. Jennings brought his enterprise to bear in 1833, when a Committee was formed for the purpose of raising a fund for building a school-house, in which instruction should be provided on week-days for the children already assembling in unsuitable premises on Sundays. A freehold site in Tufton-street was purchased for £810; a tender for the new building was accepted at £1,250 in June, 1834; the

* The grants were at first limited to the purpose of erecting school buildings; those towards maintenance were not made until 1846.

foundation stone was laid by the Hon. and Rev. Lord John Thynne, on Monday, 11th August following, and the school was opened on the 1st June, 1835, the attendance reaching 204 within three months. The fact that 100 of these had presented themselves for admission on the opening of the school, was probably due to a nucleus having been collected during the building operations, and to their liberal treatment meanwhile, for the minutes inform us that at an examination which was held, the secretary was ordered to provide "a sufficient quantity of cake and negus for the entertainment of the children." Among the donors to the building fund were H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent, £20; the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, £150; the National Society, £400; the Bishop of Lichfield, £120; H.M. Treasury, £600; the Duke of Northumberland, £100; the Duke of Buccleuch, £50; Sir Francis Burdett, Bt., M.P., £100; and many of the parishioners and others who subscribed £10 and upwards each. In August, 1838, the Committee received £672 9s. 4d., as the share (two-fifteenths) granted to them by the promoters of the Musical Festival in Westminster Abbey after the coronation of her present Majesty; and so great was the interest of the parishioners in the new undertaking, that a collection in St. John's Church amounted to over £75. The congregation of St. Margaret's also subscribed, at collections in their Church, sums varying from £30 to £50, the day-school being available for the children of both parishes.

The trust deed, which is dated 3rd June, 1834, bears twenty signatures, including, besides the Rev. John Jennings, rector of the parish, and the Very Rev. Dean Webber, minister of St. Margaret's, Mr. William Evans, sheriff of London and Middlesex (*see page 147*), Mr. Joseph Carter Wood, Mr. James Hunt, father of Sir Frederick Seager Hunt, M.P., Mr. James Lys Seager (co-partner with Mr. Evans), Mr. John Angus Walmisley, Mr. John Freeman, Mr. Thomas Wright, Mr. C. W. Hallett, and Mr. William Page Wood, afterwards Lord Hatherley.

The opening of the school took place at a time when the philanthropic mind had become impressed with the necessity for a better system of infant education, and of training teachers specially for that work. The National Society having observed the completion of this school upon the best designs of the day, intimated their willingness to regard it as a model school for infants, and for "the instruction of mistresses for the general supply of the country." Terms of co-operation were agreed upon between the Managing Committee and the Society, new teachers were appointed, and the organization of the school placed upon an efficient basis. Scarcely had it settled down to its work than it began to attract visitors from all parts of London and the suburbs. Within a few months many of the clergy and school managers from the home counties made a point of witnessing the working of the school; and before the end of its first year it had received visits from residents in Dublin, Wales, and nearly every county in England, including Northumberland and Durham on the north-east and Devonshire and Cornwall on the south-west. As time carried the fame of the school still farther, the signature book received the autographs of visitors from France, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Guernsey, Holland, Sweden, the Mauritius, the Bahama Islands, and Trinidad, the last of the foreign visitants being Edhem Bey, Hourschid Effendi, and a companion, who signed in Arabic, from Egypt, on 17th May, 1848. At this period also frequent visits were paid by the principals of, and parties of students from the newly formed training colleges; but the success of the school gradually deprived it of its prominent position as a 'model,' for as the effect of the training institutions enabled the parochial schools to attain a much higher efficiency in infant education, by supplying teachers specially trained for that department of the work, the 'model' slowly yielded its prominent position as such, until, in 1858, it found itself equalled by many an emulator.

In addition to a school for infants in Vincent-square,

which only existed for a short time prior to the erection of the schools attached to St. Mary's and St. Stephen's, a Free School in the Horseferry-road, the One Tun Ragged School, and three small schools of the same class, besides the school in Great Peter-street connected with St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, were provided and maintained by voluntary subscriptions; but all except the National Schools and the last named have ceased to exist as day schools since the opening of the Board Schools in the Horseferry-road.

In 1811 a Free School for the accommodation of 400 children of the two parishes was established in Orchard-street. In 1814 it was transferred to new premises erected in Little George-street, where the number of school places was increased to 1,000. The National Society's Depository now occupies the site.

The school accommodation and average attendance in 1870, when the School Board was called into existence, and at the present time, may be seen at a glance from the following table:—

STATISTICS OF THE SCHOOLS IN THE PARISH.

Name of School.	1871.		1892.	
	Accommodation.	Average Attendance.	Accommodation.	Average Attendance.
*St. John, Tufton-street	145	95	472	325
St. Mary, Tothill Fields	545	298	744	461
†St. Stephen, Rochester-row	427	331	1038	616
St. Stephen, Elementary, ditto	—	—	949	696
St. Matthew, Great Peter-street	668	249	706	587
Holy Trinity, Vauxhall Bridge-road	447	225	634	457
St. James-the-Less, Upper Garden-street	472	303	462	399
St. Mary, R.C., Great Peter-street	693	223	861	267
Wesleyan, Horseferry-road	1502	597	1325	526
†One Tun Ragged, and Perkins-rents Horseferry-road Board	—	—	—	—
St. Margaret and St. John's, Horseferry-road, free	333	222	712	533
Perkin's-rents Ragged	95	133		
Horseferry-road Ragged	140	159		
Pear-street Ragged	118	35		
Fourteen "private adventure" or "Dames'" Schools	387	307		

* These schools were originally for Infants only; they are now for Girls and Infants.

† Until recently known as the "Chauncey Hare Townshend" School.

‡ Now in Old Pye-street, Westminster-buildings.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PAROCHIAL CHARITIES.

"An ardent spirit dwells with Christian love,
The eagle's vigour in the pitying dove ;
Tis not enough that we with sorrow sigh ;
That we the wants of pleading man supply ;
Not these suffice—to sickness, pain and woe,
The Christian spirit loves with aid to go ;
Will not be sought, waits not for want to plead,
But seeks the duty—nay, prevents the need ;
Her utmost aid to every ill applies,
And plans relief for coming miseries."

CRABBE.

"With moistened eye
We read of faith and purest charity
In statesman, priest, and humble citizen.
Oh, could we copy their mild virtues, then
What joy to live, what blessedness to die !"

WORDSWORTH.

Bequests in favour of St. John's exclusively.—Richard Farwell.—John Bacchus.—Edward Dickinson.—Ann Davis.—Jemina Jones.—Robert Stafford.—Rebecca Aldridge.—Elizabeth Ann Mitchell.—The Charities consolidated.—Application under the new scheme.—Hospitals, Trusts, and Schools.

WHEN the parish of St. John the Evangelist was erected in 1728, within an area previously forming part of St. Margaret's parish, there were numerous charities already in periodical administration throughout the entire extent of the mother parish. The application of these charities is to-day continued over the original area, so that the two parishes share equally therein. After the formation of 'our parish' there were bequests left by some of its benevolent inhabitants for the benefit of the poor of St. John's exclusively. To these two classes of benefactions it is intended to confine the present chapter,—it is impossible

to bring within the limits of one chapter a notice of all the many parochial charities shared by the poor from time to time during nearly four centuries.*

Giving priority, in their chronological order, to those bequests which have originated within the parish since its formation, the first which presents itself to our view is that of

RICHARD FARWELL, 1747, by Will dated 11th March, bequeathed to Sir John Crosse, Bart., one of the past Churchwardens, the sum of £200 for the purchase of a churchyard or burial-ground ; but if it should be impossible so to expend the money, then it was to be applied for the benefit of the church. On 26th June, 1752, £123 17s. od. was laid out upon the "raising" of the burial-ground ; the balance of £76 3s. od. was added to the fund for defraying the cost of the galleries erected in the church in 1754.

JOHN BACCHUS, 1777, by his Will, dated 19th November, transferred £400 Consolidated three per cents. to the Churchwardens, the interest to be applied to keeping his monument in the burial-ground in good repair and to the relief of ten poor people upon every Christmas Day.

EDWARD DICKINSON, 1781, by Will, dated 8th May, gave, "for the assistance of labouring industrious honest and sober persons newly entered into the state of matrimony," £5,000 capital stock, vested in the names of the incumbents of St. Margaret's, Westminster, Acton, and St. John's, Westminster, in trust ; to divide one year's interest into equal portions, and each to pay the one-third among such three couples, within one month next after Easter-day, married in the parish church one year before the distribution, "towards providing them with such necessaries as they may stand in need of." The Will stipulates that the distribution is to be made with the approbation of the

* See *The Parochial Charities of Westminster*, 109 pp., published in 1890.

Bishop of London for the time being for ever, the Bishop at the time of the testator's death being requested to accept of a ring of the price of twenty guineas with the motto, "*Prima societas in conjugio est.*" "This institution I mean"—runs the Will—"as a small essay towards promoting some way of encouraging the marriage of poor people who seem to me to labour under great discouragement at present in that respect through their marriage (as well as that of greater people which also seem to be in no very flourishing condition) in the very ground and foundation of the prosperity of the Common Wealth."

This gift is still distributed by the rectors of St. Margaret's and St. John's, Westminster, and of Acton.

ANN DAVIS, 1791. No particulars of the legacy are recorded, owing, in all probability, to a claim set up by the executor to the right of administration, which the Vestry were unable to contest.

JEMIMA JONES, 1823, bequeathed £50 to the Churchwardens and Vestry for the time being, to be by them distributed among the poor of the parish. In the following month the money was given in 200 tickets, representing five shillings each, "no one person to have more than four tickets."

ROBERT STAFFORD, 1865, of No. 31, Hyde Park-square, bequeathed by Will, dated 23rd June, £400 to the rector and churchwardens to be invested, the interest to be divided equally between ten poor inhabitants upon every Christmas-day.

REBECCA ALDRIDGE, 1866, of Barton-street, by Will dated 16th February, left the residue of her estate (£231 os. 5d. three per cent. Consolidated Stock) the interest to be applied to any charitable purpose to be approved by her executrix, Louisa Marsh and, after her decease, by the rector of St. John's for the time being. Mrs. Marsh subsequently requested the rector to distribute

the dividends annually between two or more married couples, according to his discretion "who have lived together in love and harmony, soberly, respectably, and industriously for the space of three years or more upwards, no one couple to receive the income annually," although the same couple may be eligible to receive it at any interval of three years.

ELIZA ANN MITCHELL, 1884, by Will dated 26th August, left £50 to the rector for the time being, to be applied in the purchase of bread or meat, and to be distributed by him among such of the poor as he might select. The sum was invested in Consols.

By a scheme sealed by the Charity Commissioners on 31st May, 1889, the bequests of Bacchus, Stafford and Mitchell, were merged with numerous others into a fund designated "the Consolidated Charity," the administration of which is entrusted by the scheme to fourteen trustees. Two of these trustees—the rectors for the time being of the two parishes,—are *ex-officio*, six are designated Co-optative—Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B., W. Burdett-Coutts, Esq., M.P., George Taverner Miller, Esq., J.P., Henry Arthur Hunt, Esq., Frederick Rose, Esq., and George Nicholls, Esq.; and six are representative, three in respect of each parish being elected by the United Vestry. The gentlemen acting on the Trust in this capacity are Messrs. Z. King, F.R.I.B.A., churchwarden, W. M. Scudamore, and C. Wright, past-churchwardens, in respect of St. Margaret's; M. H. Bishop, churchwarden, H. O. Hamborg, and C. C. Piper, Past-churchwardens, in respect of St. John's.

The Consolidated Charity as administered by the newly constituted Board of Trustees throughout the two parishes, has an income of £317 14s. 4d. per annum. After providing for the payment of Joyce Goddard's Prison Charity, and the continuance of periodical allowances to certain poor persons who were receiving the same at the time the

scheme was published, the income is applicable in the following manner :—

(A.) A sum of £100 shall in every year be applied for the benefit of persons qualified as provided in clause 41 of the Scheme, and suffering from sickness, accident, or infirmity, in any one or more of the following ways, as the Trustees think fit, viz. :—

- (i.) In providing Nurses, or in subscriptions or donations to any Association or Institution having for its object the provision of Nurses.
- (ii.) In subscriptions or donations to any Hospital, Dispensary, or other Institution of a like character—conducted wholly or in part upon the provident system.
- (iii.) In subscriptions or donations to any Convalescent Home or other Institution of a like character.

(B.) The Trustees may, in each year, apply such a sum, not exceeding £50, as they think fit, for the benefit of persons qualified as provided in clause 41 of the Scheme, in one or more of the following ways :—

- (i.) Subscriptions or donations in aid of any Club or Society, conducted upon provident principles, for the supply of Coal, Clothing, or other necessities.
- (ii.) Subscriptions or donations in aid of any duly registered Provident or Friendly Society.
- (iii.) Contributions towards the purchase of Annuities, whether present or deferred, or in aid of any income or other means of support possessed by the recipient, which shall be proved to the satisfaction of the Trustees to be properly secured, and to have been produced by his or her own exertions or providence.
- (iv.) Contributions towards the cost of passage or of outfit or otherwise in aid of persons desiring to Emigrate.
- (v.) The supply of Clothes, Linen, Bedding, Fuel, Tools, Food, or other articles in kind, to an amount not exceeding £20 in any one year.
- (vi.) The supply of temporary relief in money, by way of Loan or otherwise, in cases of unexpected loss, or sudden destitution.
- (vii.) Grants towards the payment of life assurance premiums, or of subscriptions or payments to duly registered Provident or Friendly Societies in cases where through prolonged sickness or other cause such premiums, or subscriptions may have fallen into arrear.

(C.) Pensions, not exceeding six in number, and not less than six shillings nor more than eight shillings per week, and subject to regulations in other respects.

The income upon the consolidated account is thus made up :—

	£	s.	d.
£8,907 15s. 6d. New Consols at $2\frac{3}{4}$ % ...	244	19	0
£610 13s. 4d. $2\frac{1}{2}$ % Annuities ...	15	5	4
Rent of No. 16, Dacre-street ...	35	0	0
Exchequer Bond, No. 70A ...	2	10	0
Rent-charges ...	20	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£317	14	4
	<hr/>		

The message in Dacre-street is let for a term of 21 years from the 11th November, 1879.

Another important charity vested in the same Board of Trustees is that of Cornelius Vandon, the income of which, £132 12s. 4d., issuing out of £4,822 13s. 5d. New Consols, is applied to the provision of home nursing for the sick poor, in fulfilment, as nearly as possible, of the original intention of the founder. The sum available for the work is augmented by £100 from the Consolidated Charity ; but being still insufficient to establish a system equal to the needs of the two parishes, the Trustees united with the Governors of the Western Dispensary with a view to the formation of such a system. The Governors having consented to contribute £100 per annum, upon certain conditions agreed to by the two bodies, a Committee of twenty-four members, designated “the Westminster Nursing Committee,” was appointed by the Trustees and the Governors. This Committee were entrusted with all the arrangements necessary to ensure such a system of nursing the sick poor at home by trained nurses, adequate to the demands of the two parishes, and being furnished with the £300 per annum towards the expenses, undertook to raise such further sums as might be needed to maintain their work up to an efficient standard. Since the Committee commenced their labours three years ago, the sick poor of the parishes have received incalculable benefits—benefits of which the pious founder little dreamed when, three

hundred and fifteen years ago, he gave eight almshouses "for relief, succouring, and harbouring eight poor women who in time of sickness, as need should require, might help to keep and attend such as should be diseased."

In the "Will Book of St. Margaret's, Westminster," is the following entry under date of 1577 :—

"CORNELIUS VANDON, born at Breda, in Brabant, yeoman of the Guard, and usher to their Maties K. Hen. the 8th, K. Edw^d. the 6th, Queen Marie, and Q. Elizabeth, he did give eight almshouses in Pettie France, next to the end of St. James-street, for the use of eight poor women of the parish, he did also give eight other almshouses near St. Ermin's-hill, by Tuttle side, for the use of eight poor widows of this parish."

Much of the ground belonging to the St. Ermin's Hill houses became lost to the parish in 1803, in fine for the renewal of other parish leases.

By power given under the Westminster Improvement Act, 1850, the Vestry purchased the ground and almshouses at Petty France for £2,992. and paid the proceeds into the Court of Chancery to "Vandon's Charity Account." The Vestry then, under the authority of the Improvement Act and of the Court, purchased in 1852 of the London and South Western Railway Company a parcel of land in Lambeth, on the north-west side of the viaduct by Carlisle-street, for £450. The residue, £2,542, was then repaid to the churchwardens. In 1853 the churchwardens erected at a cost of £950, on this plot of land, two new almshouses, each containing eight rooms, for four poor women, with wash-houses, drying ground, "an iron railing and entrance gate," etc. The balance was invested, and £40 of the dividends distributed amongst the eight other poor women dishoused, who were to enter the almshouses when vacancies occurred, when the payments were discontinued. After them the objects of the charity were to be "able-bodied women to act as nurses for the poor," and to that end no new recipients were appointed, the almshouses being let to tenants at a fair occupation rent, for the support of visiting

nurses amongst the poor. The books show the constant investing, selling, and re-investing of the funds, in order to augment the charity, as the state of the market allowed. In 1879-83 the rents derived from the almshouses averaged £80 a year, but in 1886 they had fallen to £37; and in 1887 the London and South Western Railway Co. paid £2,000 to the Official Trustees for the purchase back of the houses and site.

In St. Margaret's church there is a curious monument to the memory of Vandon, "soldier with King Henry at Turney . . . of honest and virtuous life; a careful man for poor folk, who, in the end of this town did build for poor Widows *twenty* houses of his own cost." The monument is adorned with a half length figure of Vandon, curiously carved, in the dress of a yeoman of the guard. Round the effigy are the words :—"Obiit Anno Dom. 1577. Buried the 4th of September, *Ætatis suæ*, 94."

At the time of the transfer of the charity to the Parochial Trustees four nurses were being employed in the ecclesiastical parishes of St. Margaret, St. John, St. Andrew, and Christ Church; the arrangement being continued until the Westminster Nursing Committee had undertaken their new duties in January, 1890.

Two other bequests, applicable mainly for apprenticeships, were transferred to the same Board of Trustees for management, by the Scheme of 1889.

The income is derived partly from investments in consols and partly from real estate:—Forrest Charity, £1129 7s. 2d. New Consols, representing an income of £31 1s.; Grinsell's Charity, £1838 8s. 11d. New Consols, producing £50 11s.; and freehold property, about 3½ acres in area, producing £150 in ground rent.

The origin and object of these two benefactions are sufficiently shown by the following extracts :—

1625.—HENRY FORREST, in his last Will and Testament, dated 30th August, gave £10 a year "out of my Houses and Lands in

Channon Row in Westminster for ever . . . to be paid towards the maintenance of five poor Fatherless and Motherless children—I say xxs. the peece every halfe year for ever to help them bind apprentices until they shall be able to shift for themselves in the world, and so to others after them.” This annuity was sold to the Commissioners of Westminster Bridge for £300. For some time (about 1829), as no opportunities presented themselves for applying the charity, the money accumulated. The Vestry therefore re-invested it in different securities from time to time, and allowed the profits to be added to “the parish stock,” where the fund was in great danger of being lost to its original purpose ; but having, fortunately, been restored, the fund now forms part of the “Forrest and Grinsell Charity.”

1670.—MRS. JANE GRINSELL, wife of Humphrey Grinsell, of the City of St. Margaret, Westm., in the County of Middx., grocer, and daughter of Samuel Booth, deceased, and Elizabeth, his wife, since called Elizabeth Hill, wife of Emery Hill, by Will dated 28th September, left a certain property of North End, Fulham, now known as Mornington House, and garden, containing an area of about 3½ acres in trust, the produce to be laid out in “putting forth poore children yearly to apprentice for ever,” in sums not to exceed £5 for each child. The bequest took effect in 1675, upon the death of the foundress’s husband, to whom the estate was reserved during his lifetime by the Will. It is worthy of note that the witnesses to the Will were Emery Hill, Charles Rampaine, and Dorcas Palmer—all names associated with valuable benefactions to the parish.

From 1675 to 1724 the annual income from the estate was £12 ; in 1810 it had risen to £26 5s. ; now it amounts to £150. The first purchase of stock, in 1857, amounted to £35 Three per cent. Annuities. Additional investments were made from time to time as the rents accrued until, at the transfer of the charity to the management of the Parochial trustees in 1889, the fund consisted of £1,838 8s. 11d. New Consols.

By the scheme of the Charity Commission this charity is incorporated with the bequest of Henry Forrest as “The Forrest and Grinsell Charity” and is applied to purposes of apprenticeship.

In addition to the foregoing, which are classified by the Charity Commission as “the Parochial Charities,” there are other valuable legacies in which the deserving poor of St.

John's participate equally with those of St. Margaret's. Of these, however, the particulars must be given very briefly :—

1594. EMANUEL HOSPITAL.—Almshouses and pensions.

[This charity is at present in a state of suspense, pending the sale of the site and a general reconstruction.]

1603. ARNEWAY TRUST.—Loans from £50 to £200 at 3 per cent. interest.

1633. UNITED WESTMINSTER SCHOOLS.—Free exhibitions for 190 boys. Minimum annual value, £855.

1674. UNITED WESTMINSTER ALMSHOUSES.—Residences and pensions for aged men and women. Annual income, £2,346. A reference to this institution has been given at page 496.

1679. WESTMINSTER TECHNICAL FUND.—For the technical education of exhibitioners at the last-named schools, and of girls at the Grey Coat Hospital. Annual income, £125 14s. 4s.

1688. BLUE COAT SCHOOL.—Free education and clothing of twenty boys. Income uncertain. (*See p. 522.*)

1691. DUCHESS OF SOMERSET'S CHARITY.—Pensions, donations to hospitals, &c., and temporary relief in kind or money. Income, £527.

1706. GREY COAT HOSPITAL.—Free exhibitions for 100 girls. Annual value, £450. This important school is noticed at page 519.

The origin of these charities, with such general information thereon as was then obtainable, was touched upon in the pamphlet issued by the Vestry in 1890, in which also the almshouses, erected at Fentiman-road, Brixton, by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, as the acting Trustees of the bequests of George Whicher (1680), Judith Kifford (1698), and Letitia Cornwallis (1731), were brought to notice.

“ My pen is at the bottom of a page,
Which being finished, here the story ends ;
'Tis to be wish'd it had been sooner done,
But stories somehow lengthen when begun.”

BYRON.

CONCLUSION.

Our simple effort to conduct the indulgent reader through a comparatively unknown, and, in some respects, uninviting parish, is finished. Our way through the streets and places may have been tedious; our desire to interest those who have accompanied us to the fields, the ferry, and the 'fortress' may have failed, and the views we have presented may have lacked the artist's touch. Nevertheless, we have but slender fear that the considerate reader will lay aside our unpretentious volume at its close with disappointment, for we promised very little at its commencement. In looking back, however, at our predecessors—at their tendencies, their troubles, and their triumphs—we may derive guidance, or warning, or encouragement for ourselves; we may be reminded of the truth that one generation is but the heir of those which have passed away, having but an entail interest, as it were, in the rights and privileges to which we succeed. And if we recognise that we are morally bound to hand down those rights and privileges, augmented, if possible, but unimpaired, at least, to those who succeed us, our task will not have been performed in vain. In this sense our little parish may become a true reflection of our beloved country. The past has only to be made cognisant to the present, to ensure an earnest striving for the welfare of the future; and it is the careful study of history, and the emulation with which that study inspires the best of England's sons, that still—

" Keeps our Britain whole within herself,
A nation yet, the rulers and the ruled—
Some sense of duty, something of a faith,
Some reverence for the laws ourselves have made,
Some patient force to change them when we will,
Some civic manhood firm against the crowd!

This fine old world of ours is but a child
Yet in the go-cart. Patience! give it time
To learn its limbs; there is a Hand that guides!"

TENNYSON.

ADDENDA & CORRIGENDA.

Page 4.—line 27.—For *Cozens* read *Cosens*.

Page 79.—line 30.—For 'Haddington,' read 'Hoddington,' as correctly given later in the same sentence. Dr. Gee was admitted to St. John's College, Cambridge, 9 May, 1676. He was B.A. 1679, and M.A. 1683, and was incorporated in the latter degree, at Oxford, 4 March, 1683-4. The degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by Archbishop Tenison on Feb. 8, 1695.

Page 80.—Swift's *Occasional Notes*. Given as *Thoughts on Various Subjects* in Sir W. Scott's edition of the Dean's works; Constable & Co., Edinburgh, 1824; Vol. IX. page 238.

Page 81.—Swift in his *Examination of Certain Abuses, &c.*, refers to the "famous Dr. Willes" whose ingenious translation of treasonable letters, written in cypher by Jacobite plotters, brought many of them to trial.

Page 99.—Line 21—Act of 1840: the 3 and 4 Vict. cap. 113, sec. 29.

Page 102.—The Churchill family.—

Thomas Churchill was 'master bricklayer to his Majesty.' died Sept. 4, 1736. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1736, Vol. 6, p. 552.

The London Chronicle of 5 Jan., 1764, contains the following—"Monday last Mr. Churchill, of Dartmouth-street, (brother to —Churchill the poet) was chose, by a very great majority, by ballot, Apothecary to the Poor of the parishes of St. Margaret and St. John, Westminster. There were four candidates."

The Rev. Wm. Churchill, youngest brother of the poet, was also educated at Westminster. He was vicar of Orton-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire, and died there, in June, 1804.

Page 103.—The epigram is to be found in Watkins' *History of Bideford*. 1792, p. 119.

1749.—JOHN HOWELL, son of Thomas Howell, of Lampeter Velfry, co. Pembroke; Trin. Coll. Oxon; matriculated 27th March, 1740, aged 19; B.A. 1743.

1758.—EDWARD SMALLWELL was admitted to Westminster School, 1735.

Page 112.—1762. VINCENT HOTCHKISS. He had been beneficed in Barbadoes, and lived in College-street.

1769. A. M. TOPLADY; ordained deacon, 1762, and priest, 1764, by the Bishop of Bath and Wells; curate of Blagdon, Somerset 1762; curate of Farleigh—Hungerford, Somerset, 1764-5.

- Page 113.—1805. WILLIAM DAVIES, B.A. ; probably rector of Cathedral, co. Brecon, 1815.
- Page 116.—1849. WILLIAM HENRY DAVIES, youngest son of Sir David Davies, M.D., K.H., and a godson of William IV. ; born 1825, educated at Charterhouse and Christ Church, Oxford ; matriculated 1844, graduating B.A. in 1848, and proceeding M.A. in 1851. Mr. Davies was formerly chaplain of St. George's Hospital, and died at sea, on board the *Lord Warden*, nine days before her arrival at Calcutta, 22nd Jan., 1868.
- Page 128.—Burial-ground. A leading and a very pleasant feature in the subscription list was, in addition to the Duke of Westminster's munificent gift of £1000, the contributions of Westminster firms ; as for instance—Messrs. Broadwood & Sons, 50 guineas, (besides Mr. F. Rose, 50*l.* and Mr. G. T. Rose, 21*l.*), Messrs. Mowlem, 50*l.*, Messrs. T. J. Miller & Sons, 21*l.*, New Westminster Brewery Co., 21*l.*, Messrs. Watney & Co., 20*l.*, Messrs. Trollope, 10 guineas, Messrs. Farmiloe, 10 guineas, Messrs. J. B. White Bros., 10 guineas, &c. The list included the names of the Dean of Westminster, the Duke of Norfolk, the late Duke of Buccleuch, the Baroness and Mr. Burdett-Coutts, Sir F. Seager Hunt, the late Rt. Hon. W. H. Smith, Sir Rutherford Alcock, the late Sir H. A. Hunt, Rev. Canon Furse, Mrs. Jennings, etc., etc. Sir F. Seager Hunt, M.P., was hon. treasurer, and Mr. Charles Wright, of 7, Grosvenor-road, hon. secretary of the Fund.
- Page 260.—The quotation from Hume's *History* that trial by battle "was never abolished by law in England" is of course corrected by the statement made on p. 263, that all such proceedings were abolished by 59 George III., c. 46, passed after the publication of Hume's monumental work.
- Page 297.—Line 25.—For *Hollar* read *W. Capon*.
- Page 315.—For *Abemarle* read *Albemarle*.
- Page 327.—For *Barbury* read *Barbary*.
- Page 355.—For *Londina Illustrata* read *Londini Illustrata*.
- Page 359.—Line 13.—For *Rembrandt* read *Wynants*.
- Pages 396, 420, 461.—The doubts expressed as to the names being derived from parts of the Westminster estate are removed by a letter dated 14th December, 1892, in which Mr. Boodle, Agent to the Duke of Westminster, writes: "No part of Lillington-street belongs to the Westminster estate," and adds "I am not aware that the Duke or any of his ancestors owned property in Warwickshire, and I do not think the names Warwick or Tachbrook-street can have been derived in the way suggested."
- Page 397.—Edward-street was named after Canon Holland Edwards as was also Holland-street (*see also page 423*).

Page 403.—For *Spencer* read *Spenser*.

Page 410.—Line 3.—For *Biographica Dramatica* read *Biographia Dramatica*.

Page 420.—There is a stone built in the wall of the ‘Queen’s Head’ public-house at the corner of Marsham-street (No. 68) with Great Peter-street, bearing the inscription—*This is Marsham Street, 1688.*

Page 425.—New-street was a private road when first built.

Page 452.—A tablet in the wall of the corner house in Smith-square, numbered 12, North-street (west side) bears the date 1726.



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